THE
NATION

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LETTERS

agility

Ann Arbor, Mich.

DEAR SIRS: Nicolaus C. Mills's article, "The Mothers Said No" [*The Nation*, Nov. 25] gives a clear history of the Ann Arbor ADC mothers' success in getting money for school clothes in a confrontation which involved more than 200 arrests. He claims two quite different successes for the mothers and their supporters: (1) prying additional money out of the Welfare Department at that specific time, and (2) becoming a strong and continuing political power. Mr. Mills seemed to be writing before the November election cast serious doubt on the accuracy of his second assumption.

At the county level, Sheriff Douglas Harvey ran on a platform which identified him as an opponent of the mothers and especially of their *tactics* (demonstrations—sit-ins). Harvey, stressing "safety," not only won but was the county's largest vote getter. . . . These election results do not foreshadow the emergence of the mothers as "a force in their own right," nor the appointment of one of them or their supporters to the County Social Services Board. More likely, the results of October and November will be read by county officials as authorizing a much tougher line should the mothers return . . . .

The next step for the academic and student supporters of the mothers is to devise a range of strategies and tactics including, but not limited to, direct confrontation. A smaller contender must rely on change of pace, footwork and speed, not slugging power . . . . *Sydney E. Bernard*

age of reason

Boise, Ida.

DEAR SIRS: The electoral age barrier has already been broken in four states. Two, Kentucky and Georgia, have set the voting age at 18; in Alaska and Hawaii, it has been set at 19 and 20, respectively. No deleterious consequences, or at least none that can be attributed to the ballots of voters under 21, have occurred.

The youth of today is better educated than was the youth of the 1920s. In 1920, less than 30 per cent of the high school age population was in high school and only 17 per cent graduated. Today, more than 85 per cent of Americans, 14 to 17, are attending high school and more than three-fourths receive diplomas. In 1920, less than 8 per cent of the 18 to 21 population were enrolled in college. Today, half the country's young people are receiving some form of higher education. . . .

Eighteen-year-olds facing civil or criminal charges are brought into adult, not juvenile courts; as wage earners they are required to pay taxes; they are often free to marry without the consent of their parents; they are allowed to enter civil service. Age should limit our electorate to a group . . . ready to handle the responsibilities of citizenship.

Erik Gabrielson, Boise State College

irony of history

Brooklyn, N.Y.

DEAR SIRS: Roy Cohn participated, as special assistant prosecutor, in the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell. The Rosenbergs were executed in June, 1953, their convictions founded on the testimony of criminals and informers, Harry Gold, David Greenglass and Elizabeth Bentley.

Now Mr. Cohn . . . condemns his successors in the Justice Department for basing their indictment of him on criminals' and informers' testimony! Meanwhile, Cohn's living victim, Sobell, is scheduled to spend yet another Chanukah and Christmas in prison at Lewisburg, Pa. *Aaron Katz*

EDITORIALS

The Hurdle

When Peking proposed in a November 26 radio broadcast that the Warsaw talks with the United States be resumed as of next February 20, officials in Washington were surprised and, one may safely assume, far from enraptured. Nothing has made State happier, during its fifteen years under John Foster Dulles and Dean Rusk (Christian Herter's tenure hardly counts) than the isolation of Red China, imposed partly by the United States and partly by the Chinese Communists themselves. The incoming administration, however, acceded to the Chinese proposal with commendable promptness. Robert D. Murphy, the Nixon liaison officer for national security affairs, told the press on the following afternoon that Mr. Nixon wished to go ahead with the proposed meeting, and that the Johnson Administration was drafting a reply to Peking on this basis.

Even old China hands can only conjecture as to the Red Chinese motivation, which, as always by standardized American tradition, is held to be inscrutable, if not treacherous. However, the prevalent impression among those observers who have oftener than not been right (and were rewarded for their perspicacity during the Joe McCarthy era) is that the Red Guard furor is abating and the moderates are edging back into power. The Chinese may feel, also, that while a settlement in Vietnam is certainly not imminent, it is no longer utterly remote. With the Russians apparently working for peace in Southeast Asia, the Chinese can hardly afford to push for continued war. And by resuming talks with the United States, they may hope to put themselves in a position to influence the outcome.

The proposal that Chinese-American relations should be based on "the five principles of coexistence" has an air of *déjà vu* about it. Apparently the Chinese were referring to the China-India agreement of 1954, which included mutual respect for each country's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual noninterference in internal affairs, mutual nonaggression, equality and mutual benefit—all adding up to peaceful coexistence. But the promulgation of these admirable sentiments did not avert considerable fighting between the equal, nonaggressing, mutually benefiting partners. Neither did Chou En-lai's overtures to the United States in 1955 result in anything more than the sterile meetings in Warsaw—which, nevertheless, continued for thirteen years and are now to be resumed.

Chou referred on that occasion particularly to "relaxing tension in the Taiwan area," and the present Chinese proposal likewise makes it plain that peaceful coexistence between China and the United States is contingent on the "immediate" cessation of American military aid to Chiang Kai-shek's regime. This requirement the Chinese are not likely to waive, any more than the United States is likely to forgo its control of the entire Pacific Ocean, with Chiang's snout in the very harbor of Amoy. The resumption of talks is a step away from perpetual hostility, but American support of Chiang remains an obstacle to any real détente.

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Will Nixon 'Get' the Press?

A number of publications have begun to worry over the question, "Will the Press Be Out To 'Get' Nixon?" (*U.S. News & World Report*, December 2). But a more realistic concern would seem to be: Will Nixon be out to "get" the press?

At a recent press conference at the Hotel Pierre, Ronald Ziegler, Mr. Nixon's press aide, failed to announce a meeting that had taken place between Mr. Nixon and Governor Rockefeller. He was reminded by the press that only the day before Herbert G. Klein, who is to be the new "Director of Communications," had promised that there would be an unimpeded flow of information to the press and public. "Isn't this precisely the sort of thing," one reporter asked, "that builds the kind of 'credibility gap' you say you're trying to avoid?"

At the same time, Rep. John E. Moss (D., Calif.), who heads the House Government Operations subcommittee concerned with freedom of information, expressed his misgivings about the information setup and called on Mr. Nixon to reconsider it before it is too late. "No matter how well intended," he said, "the awesome powers seemingly proposed for a communications director lend themselves toward the concept of a dictatorial and suppressive single voice in government."

The President-elect obviously wants to avoid President Johnson's obsessive personal involvement in news management; but what he proposed could turn out to be an institutionalization of Mr. Johnson's personal practice. Under President Johnson the press was concerned with discrepancies, distortions and deceptions; under Nixon and problem may be much simpler—a sharp reduction in the flow of information.

New Sobriety

Addressing the French National Assembly on November 26, Premier Couve de Murville rallied his audience, and indirectly all of France, to volunteer in a victorious "war of the franc." The speech, during which Couve de Murville repeatedly referred to President de Gaulle in terms of admiration which recalled the formalistic obeisances of Communist state papers, rang with a national fervor that might seem exaggerated in a statement dealing entirely with economics. But in fact it was not dealing entirely, or even primarily, with economic matters—France is engaged in a political struggle, and the line of battle is once more the Rhine. Small wonder, then, that one seemed to hear the *Marseillaise* in the background of the Premier's earnest words.

For some time now, the mark has been the strongest currency in Europe. With a population about equal to that of France, West Germany's gross national product is $20 billion greater, and the German trade surplus today is massive. It is normally assumed that in any congress of nations, the country with the strongest money will speak with the loudest political voice; but up to now Germany has allowed France to make the rules and call the plays. Its demeanor in such areas as the Common Market has been relatively meek. In November, however, when it was

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instructed, rather peremptorily, by France, Great Britain and the United States to raise the value of the mark, Bonn said no. By hindsight, this obduracy was not particularly surprising. In the first place, Germans live in terror of monetary fluctuation; no people have suffered from it more. In the second place, Germany's leaders decided that the sudden collapse of the franc gave them a chance to transform economic solidity into political muscle.

They were not particularly tactful about it; the counsel of industry and prudence volunteered by the German representatives at the hastily called international meetings was perhaps not arrogance, since the Germans deny any such intent, but it was difficult for the other hard-pressed nations to endure. However, it is likely that the Germans are more intent on flexing their muscles than on using them. De Gaulle is engaged in that classic form of gamble which involves pulling at the very pillars of the temple. The financial roof might as a result fall in on France; it would also not spare the related economies as it crashed. So Germany, like the other "partners" of France, has contributed heavily to support the franc. Bonn made its point—it is no longer to be pushed about—and is now hard at work on the money dikes.

And de Gaulle, having called on Frenchmen to pull in their belts and stop gadding about the world, at least showed his own commitment to a newly sober French economy by canceling the nuclear tests scheduled for next year. This time, when the gold dust settles, the Europeans may be in a position to sit around a table, and will no longer be required to cluster at the great man's knees. *La Gloire* is out of style for the moment; there is no pressing need for its return.

Finger Pointing

Now that the election is over, both parties have resumed the discussion of campaign costs and expenditures—those incurred, needless to say, by the other party. For example, agents for the FBI have begun to review finance reports of twenty Nixon-Agnew fund-raising committees which, inexplicably, were filed with the Clerk of the House well after the legal deadline set by the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. Since the investigation is not likely to be concluded before the new administration takes over, it is a fair inference that nothing further will be heard of this apparent violation of the law.

In the same spirit in which this belated investigation was ordered, Sen. Hugh Scott, from the Republican side, has demanded that the Democratic National Committee explain a $100,000 campaign contribution from the Seafarers' International Union, made shortly after Secretary of State Dean Rusk had denied Canada's request for extradition of Harold C. Banks, who jumped $25,000 bail and fled to this country after conviction on a conspiracy charge involving the beating of a rival Great Lakes union leader. An extraordinary array of labor's top brass intervened to induce Dean Rusk to overrule his legal adviser and refuse extradition. As a matter of fact, as George Lardner, Jr., reports in *The Washington Post*, the Seafarers spent money on "deserving" Democrats in this campaign, including Mr. Humphrey, "like sailors on shore leave." But the beneficences of the Seafarers are no more likely to be investigated than those belated Nixon-Agnew reports. There is something gently comic about the bipartisan comity that is observed on such delicate issues.

Action vs. Apathy

"The cowboy from Marlboro Country," comments *The Wall Street Journal*, "may be taking his last ride on television." If so, a young lawyer named John F. Banzhaf III will be entitled to much of the credit. Mr. Banzhaf, head of Action on Smoking and Health, a citizens' anti-smoking group in Washington, asked the Columbia Broadcasting System for free time on WCBS-TV, the network's New York outlet, to combat cigarette commercials. C.B.S. declined. Banzhaf then appealed to the FCC under the "Fairness Doctrine." The FCC ruled in his favor in June, 1967, in an advisory opinion that required broadcasters to devote "significant" time to the case against smoking—say one anti-smoking message to every three cigarette commercials.

The Tobacco Institute and the National Association of Broadcasters went to court. In a 2-to-1 decision, a federal appeals court has upheld Banzhaf. "Cigarette advertising inherently promotes cigarette smoking as a very desirable habit," the majority opinion said. "Very substantial medical and scientific authority regard this habit as highly dangerous to health and therefore undesirable. In view of the volume of cigarette advertising, existing sources are inadequate to inform the public of the nature and extent of the danger. . . ." The case is now headed for the Supreme Court. If the decision goes against them there, the tobacco companies are likely to discontinue cigarette advertising on TV.

Reams have been written about the power elites, the impotence of the individual, how the cards are stacked against the virtuous, etc. Yet when a shrewd, bold and energetic antagonist like Ralph Nader or John Banzhaf comes along, the Goliaths are found to be not so formidable after all. In some situations, as power grows bigger and more highly structured, it also becomes more vulnerable. Resistance to corporate and governmental wrongdoing is never easy, but if there were less hand wringing and more resolute action, the country would be better off.

'A Little Torture'

Despite repeated expressions of hurt innocence, the Greek colonels have not been able to counter the impression that they employ torture as a means of implementing policy. Recently, they sent four political prisoners under guard to a meeting of the European Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg, to testify that they had been properly treated in jail. Two of these men slipped their leashes (with the help of Andreas Papandreou's Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement) and told reporters that they had been tortured.

After a recent visit to Greece, Christopher Janus, a

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Chicago businessman, son of Greek parents, who helped organize Greek war relief, gave the Toronto *Star* an account of what he had observed and discovered. He reports that Greece today is a perfectly organized police state, watched over by an army that may be merely a hollow shell so far as NATO defenses are concerned, but which is entirely adequate for internal repression. The army's Sherman tanks "clank up at the drop of a leaflet," and an enormous counterespionage apparatus has been instituted by the Greek Central Intelligence—which was originally organized and financed by our own Central Intelligence Agency.

On the other hand the resistance has little money and almost no arms. Spokesmen told Mr. Janus that two developments had undercut the movement: Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford's May 17th statement announcing the resumption of military aid to Greece and the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia.

While in Athens, Mr. Janus spoke with three victims of police torture—two former members of parliament and a 24-year-old daughter of prominent Greek parents. This young lady had been taken to a military camp between Athens and Marathon, and while a motorcycle was kept running to stifle her screams, among other indignities she had been stripped naked and beaten with a wire whip by soldiers. She was finally released when her father paid a ransom of $25,000. Later Mr. Janus discussed her case with a lieutenant colonel—"an attractive, affable, well-educated fellow"—with whom he was having drinks in the bar of the Grand Bretagne Hotel, across Constitution Square from the Parliament buildings. While he conceded that the young lady's experience had been "unfortunate," the officer added: "It's all a question of survival . . . Besides a little torture is necessary to preserve civilization."

Senator Morse

An institution uprooted—such was the valedictory of Malcolm Bauer, reporting the defeat of Sen. Wayne Morse for *The Christian Science Monitor*. Together with the defeat of Senator Gruening, it represents the worst setback of the 1968 election insofar as the Senate and House races are concerned—a setback not only because of Morse's splendid record on foreign and domestic affairs, but equally for his personal qualities, which during his four terms in the Senate were unique and invaluable. The American people have suffered a grievous loss; it is not made less by the fact that as of now only the thoughtful minority is aware of it.

In times past we have had real scrappers on the progressive side in the Senate—men like Senator Norris and Senator Borah. The miasma of the cold war discouraged the survival of such types, but Morse remained. What made him great was precisely his willingness to be unpleasant in a good cause, regardless of the station of those who opposed him. He lambasted, in succession, Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. When he thought they were wrong, he let them have it—without malice but equally without qualms. He was "the tiger in the Senate" on all issues that needed a tough, head-on, no-holds-barred approach. In this respect he has no successor.

Pugnacity by itself does not even begin to make an outstanding Senator. In Morse it was combined with immense industry, brilliance and matchless experience. His outstanding record in the Senate has eclipsed his earlier achievements as dean of the University of Oregon law school, his prominence in the affairs of that state, and his chairmanship of the wartime President's Emergency Board and the War Labor Board. While President Johnson could scarcely have loved him, he respected him, and perhaps now regrets that he did not follow his advice on Vietnam. When it came to a labor impasse, Johnson was glad to avail himself of Morse's services. He is now lost to the Senate, but if his detractors think they have seen the last of him on the national scene, they are mistaken.

Our Spanish Friends

The Nation has sought to keep a measure of public attention focused on the negotiations which have been going on in Washington and now in Madrid over the renewal of the "security agreement" governing the air and naval bases in Spain. Our efforts have not been appreciated at the Spanish Embassy in Washington. Recently we received an indignant letter from Jaime de Urzaiz, the "counsellor of information," demanding to know how we ever got the notion that Spain's asking price for a renewal of the agreement was about $1 billion in military equipment over a five-year period and complaining, most bitterly, that we had used the ugly word "blackmail" to describe some of the tactics being used by Franco's negotiators (see Letters column, *The Nation*, November 25).

We replied that the $1 billion figure had been taken from stories appearing in the Washington papers and which we assumed to be correct. More recent stories from Madrid, discussing the negotiations between Generalissimo Franco, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Foreign Minister Fernando Maria Castiella, specifically refer to Spain's asking price as "$1.2 billion over the next five years." Since these dispatches originate in Madrid, either the figure must be correct or the Spanish censors are falling down on the job. As to "blackmail," these same dispatches speak of a "rift" that has developed over Franco's insistence that Spain may be compelled to "reorient her foreign policy" and adopt a nonaligned position unless, of course, it gets what it wants.

U.S. spokesmen are reported to be quite upset by the suggestion of Spain's Foreign Minister that this country and Russia should both withdraw their naval forces from the Mediterranean. This suggestion, Richard Eder reports to *The New York Times* from Madrid, is regarded as a move by the Foreign Ministry to "stiffen its terms for the current negotiations." All this may not constitute "blackmail" as defined by the criminal code, but Dean Rusk and Gen. Earle G. Wheeler might well feel that it does. However, Washington is not averse to using a little blackmail itself, and has threatened to shift certain of the bases to Portugal unless Franco becomes more reasonable. But what's a little blackmail among friends?

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RHETORIC OF AMBIVALENCE

EDWARD WITTEN
Mr. Witten is an undergraduate at Brandeis University.

The American Left suffers from a curious ambivalence. Its central constituents—the students and young radicals, the suburban liberals and the black militants—are united only in a loose coalition of disaffiliation; they differ so sharply in the sources and depth of their commitment that even the night sticks of Chicago forged merely a momentary union. And each of these groups has failed to create a plausible or even a consistent model for the new vision of society that is presumably its object. Because of that failure, it is impossible for the elements to join in a serious coalition or even for any one of them to establish a coherent focus for its efforts.

The young radicals face a poverty both of personal and of political alternatives. They have met personal questions such as the draft and career selection by attempting to transform individual into collective decisions, a maneuver which clumsily veils the inability to create real choices. Thus the rhetoric of "resistance" and "confronting the war makers" undertakes to transform draft resistance from an act of personal morality to a collective strategy. The radicals tell us that personal morality lacks political content; but the apocalyptic quality of the rhetoric only obscures the fact that resistance and confrontation are not devices for organizing the uncommitted but only for the dramatic expression of a powerless minority that will remain so. Thus the rhetoric also lacks political content. Failing to create the possibility of even potentially effective collective action, it leaves the radical trapped between personal defiance and jail, or personal acquiescence and betrayal.

Similarly, although the most elementary pledge of the student movement is to create alternatives to the meaningless and mechanically determined life patterns offered by middle-class society, the radical lacks plausible options for himself, much less for those he would convert. The frequent contention that radicals as they grow older will grow conservative is basically a reflection of this fact.

The rhetoric of community—expressed most clearly in "sanctuaries" at Boston University, New York University, M.I.T. and elsewhere—attempts to provide collective alternatives in the absence of personal ones. Sometimes sanctuary has meant playing games with the feds. At best it means an effort to merge a medieval legal concept, modern religious values and political solidarity and militancy into an idyllic paradise. But that unreal and ephemeral paradise merely removes from the personal to the collective level the incapacity of the radicals to offer anything but withdrawal as an alternative life pattern.

Because the radicals are largely limited to the campus, they have also been unable to create serious alternatives to the established forms of political action. A few years ago SDS was content to claim that the power base of the two major parties was illegitimate; now it claims that the election process through which the parties retain control is itself illegitimate. The latter conclusion originated from the conviction that power ought to flow from community and not from national sources. People should control institutions (schools, factories, planning agencies) directly, rather than maintain the phantom of control through a centralized mechanism dominated by a militarist-corporatist elite. This analysis was a response to the collapse of efforts by the students to organize the community on national issues. When it became obvious that the campuses could not form the core of a genuinely national movement, student radicals began to view their movement as the prototype for a loose coalition of local movements to seize control of local institutions.

According to this strategy, as the students struggle to gain control of the universities, blacks will struggle to gain control of the ghetto economies; parents, of the public school systems; industrial workers, of the factories. And when institutions are controlled at the local level by the people they are designed to serve, imperial and exploitative power will dissolve on a national scale. This prospectus begs the question of how radical movements will come into existence in the factories, the public schools, and elsewhere, when the one radicalized segment of society—the students—abandons as misconceived the attempt to organize them. It implies that students cannot expect to be effective beyond their own constituency of the university except indirectly, by providing a model for blacks, blue-collar workers and others who will undertake to organize themselves. But this program does not present students with options for political action; it rationalizes the failure to develop such options.

The effort to create personal and political alternatives outside existing structures—which is, after all, the essence of radicalism—has thus created a deadlock of radical ideology. The suburban liberals obviously escape that particular trap, but their position involves a very serious ambiguity. Suburban activists have tended to avoid the question of just what "activism" and "commitment" mean; they seem never quite sure whether their activism reflects transient issues or enduring grievances. At one extreme, if the war is a temporary, isolated aberration in American policy, if poverty and racism are vestigial problems from the New Deal (as President Johnson seemed to believe until the Great Society exploded in his face), then four or eight years of humane Democratic rule would resolve the divisive issues of the past few years. In that case commitment in suburbia is momentary and will not form the basis for permanent political organization. At the other extreme, if militarism and racism are deeply rooted in the structure of our society, if that society can sustain opulent but not meaningful lives, then the success of suburban activism will require a lasting movement with a solid issue-oriented base.

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The suburban activists, adrift between these suppositions, remain uncertain whether they are contriving a temporary coalition or building a movement. The fate of Vietnam Summer, an anti-war project that flourished sporadically in mid-1967, illustrates how this uncertainty undercuts political strategy. Vietnam Summer concentrated on a canvassing program to influence opinion on a few narrowly defined issues. Its agents set out to prove to communities that the bombing of North Vietnam was unnecessary, or inconvenient, or perhaps unsuccessful—and above all that one could have short hair and still oppose it. They did not argue that the bombing was unjust or immoral or fundamentally wrong, or that it served the interests of a reactionary coalition in South Vietnam, although these beliefs were at the foundation of their own sentiments. They succeeded in momentarily persuading many of the housewives to whom they spoke that the bombing should be stopped on this or that ground of expediency; but this persuasion relied on no arguments likely to survive the slightest change in the circumstances surrounding the bombing, certainly on no arguments that would militate against a later bombing campaign in Thailand or Guatemala. Vietnam Summer built on shifting sands. The narrow issues around which it mobilized ceased to be issues long before such local organizing efforts could be powerful enough to alter the outcome, and its pitifully small achievements evaporated.

If Vietnam Summer was attempting to build a movement, it should have organized around issues of durable content, around questions of values and not of expediency; this would have created a smaller political base but a solid one. If it was attempting to effect a temporary coalition, then the concept of local organizing was itself badly judged. The confusion of goals that beset Vietnam Summer also characterizes many electoral efforts, where the choice is between the Clean-for-Gene, nice-guy image that wins votes without speaking to issues; or the issue-oriented campaign that does not necessarily produce the maximum support for this candidate in this election, but does create a continuing constituency capable of electing sympathetic men over the long term, when the candidates and the surface issues will change but the underlying values will remain. The choice, in other words, is between a temporary and a permanent conception of activism.

The black militants lack not a decisive commitment but a political program. In the name of political analysis they present a strange amalgam of Frantz Fanon on the liberating content of violence for an oppressed people; of Nkrumah and the Cuban, Chinese, Algerian, Kenyan and Vietnamese revolutions on imperial warfare; of Malcolm X on the energy of the black community after centuries of deprivation. There are fragments of meaningful analysis in this medley. For example, the capital outflow from Harlem and Roxbury to the white community, caused by external ownership of businesses and housing, is roughly analogous to the economic drainage of colonized countries. Or again, the incredible success of Malcolm X's efforts to reclaim and convert drug addicts vindicates his belief that the internal destructiveness of Harlem is a potential source of strength—a belief similar to Fanon's contention that for the colonized people, random, internal violence is a necessary first stage toward ultimate redemption.

Such loose comparisons as these, however, do not form the kernel of an analysis of domestic imperialism that could provide a program of political action toward liberation. When the Black Panthers parade with their guns in the streets of Oakland and the halls of the state capitol, they claim that by demonstrating their will to defend their communities from the power of a racist society they will establish black self-confidence and self-reliance. This contention divorces revolutionary rhetoric from substance; it does not claim the gun as the tool for a revolution (indeed, the Black Panthers are implausible as revolutionaries; the white society is bigger and stronger and, probably, meaner than they are) but as the symbol. Indeed, revolution itself becomes a symbol, not a program; the gun is not a means to seize power but a token of determination to do so. Even as the Black Panthers develop a revolutionary analysis of society and a theory of liberation through violence, they abandon the political and revolutionary content of violence. Power does not flow from the barrel of a symbol.

As the various components of the Left grope, respectively, toward the development of new options, toward a clear definition of the meaning of commitment and toward a relevant concept of black revolution, there is a common cause of their failures. The Left has reached a dead end which is, in fact, the dead end of Western ideology. The West has evolved, fundamentally, only two social and political ethics, liberal capitalism and utopian socialism. Both of these ethics lost meaning for the United States when the New Deal destroyed the blue-collar Socialist constituency at about the same time that the myth of progress, dominant in the West since the Enlightenment, collapsed in the technological carnage of the World Wars. Edith Hamilton believes that "progress" destroyed classical Greek civilization; perhaps a future historian will conclude that Western civilization has contained the seeds of its own destruction ever since the vision of common

Waite, The Sun (London)
"Fools—That's Next Week's Protest!"

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salvation through technological and scientific progress ended in the nightmare of Kafka's *Metamorphosis* and *In the Penal Colony*. After World War II, the liberals, in reaction to the breakdown of political theory, retreated behind the end-to-ideology school of a latter-day era of good feelings, and thrust forward production as a new social ethic, a process which Galbraith dissected nicely in *The Affluent Society*. The radicals, in turn, retreated behind the barricades of the tattered ideologies of the depression years.

But ours is the decade of Vietnam, Selma and Watts; and today those responses are discredited fantasies. Yet political discussion on the Left remains weighted down by the dead controversies of the 1930s. The Left has failed to counter the disintegration of Western ideology by devising a new social and political ethic. It has not even tried to generate a new system of social values to meet the needs of a society of saturation and overconsumption that was not anticipated by Keynes or Marx or any of the men who evolved the ideologies under which we function. Since none of the elements of the Left has formulated a new vision of society, they are all directionless, all trapped in the politics of the moment. The Black Panthers reject liberal humanism and can offer instead only symbols and rhetoric. The suburban liberals dissolve into bitter divisions on such issues as supporting Humphrey or organizing a fourth party. The campus radicals rationalize their isolation and act out fictional options. None can form alliances; none has any notion of where an ally might be found. For example, it is currently fashionable in radical circles to advocate a worker-student alliance, as if the New Deal had not happened. Above all, the Left lacks a political strategy. And until it can develop a new vision, a new social and political ethic, it will continue to lack one.

WALKING OUT ON NEW YORK

City Schools & Albany Politics

JEROME WILSON
Mr. Wilson covers Albany as a legislative correspondent for WCBS-TV.

A lot of time was spent during the New York City school strike looking for villains. In fact, the city was almost literally divided between those who blamed the teachers for going out on strike in the first place, and those who blamed Rhody McCoy and the blacks for purportedly forcing the teachers to do so. Not just because it's their beat, many Albany observers are blaming the government of the state of New York for the whole mess. It was, after all, the New York State government (and more particularly the legislature) that ordered the city to produce a sweeping decentralization plan. It was the state government that then compromised grievously on granting the powers to implement that plan. Finally it was the state government (this time the state education hierarchy) that somewhat tardily worked out the ultimate settlement which ended the strike.

Taking the last point first, the settlement is essentially an agreement between the state Commissioner of Education, Dr. James Allen, and the city's teachers' union, with Mayor Lindsay and the city Board of Education relegated to little more than spectator roles. The state Education Commissioner and not the city is charged with appointing the trustee to run the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district. (The first state trustee, Dr. Herbert F. Johnson, has now retired because he is "worn out," and Allen has named a second, Dr. William D. Firman.) He is to decide whether or not to continue or renew the suspension of the district superintendent and the district board; he was responsible for appointing the three-member grievance committee for teacher complaints. Significantly, Dr. Allen cleared his appointees to this committee in advance with United Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker.

But the state's involvement began well before its role of peacemaker. It really started with the New York State legislature. There is a body of opinion that holds that if the legislature had passed a meaningful school decentralization law at the 1968 session, the agonies of the fall would have been avoided. By this reasoning, if the legislature had adopted a self-executing procedure which did indeed create thirty independently functioning community school boards, with the power to hire their own district superintendents and their own new teachers, and even to set curriculum within a broad state framework, the union simply would not have had the power to pull the teachers out on strike. With these boards in full operation, it is felt, the chain of job security would have run between the district board and the teachers in the community, and not as has been the case in the past several years, between the city-wide teachers' union and the teachers in all the communities.

But the legislature passed no such law. A mere vestige of the broad decentralization plan prevailed—to pack the central city board with sufficient new seats to produce a pro-decentralization majority. As for a permanent decentralization plan, the legislature effectively put the matter over for a year, if not forever.

True, under the Marchi Bill (the law that passed) the central Board of Education was permitted to delegate certain powers to district boards; power to hire district school superintendents, for example, and even the power to hire teachers. Power could also be delegated to continue the three experimental districts. But permission to assign these powers expires at midnight on June 30, 1969. Un-

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less the legislature passes a new law before then, nothing will be left of the experiment.

The effect of the Marchi Bill, with its cut-off feature, was both to preserve the city-wide strike capability of the union, and to accentuate the dangers of excesses in local experiments. The result was an ugly confrontation that paralyzed education in the city for weeks.

The legislature at Albany accepted a procedure that merely postponed the whole question because it is habitually shy of new ideas. There is political safety in standing pat, and that was certainly a prime obstacle to the adoption of any broad plan of decentralization.

But the United Federation of Teachers also fought the regents' plan to decentralize the city schools. Not that the union can be charged with wanting to scuttle completely experiments in school decentralization—as some have charged. But the union obviously wants to go slowly. Even though the UFT had in the past enjoyed a good civil rights reputation, and had generally lined up on the side of progressive causes, it had its members' rights to think about, and it had its power of city-wide collective bargaining to preserve. The union was in a painful and honest dilemma, and so it backed a measure putting the matter over for a year.

And whereas the state education structure operates as a somewhat remote regency, able to put forward a proposal only on its own merits, the union has some high cards to play when it deals with the legislature. Getting the legislators to go along with its position required only gentle reminders of past attentiveness, reminders that were particularly effective in the Democrat-controlled, and New York City-oriented, state Assembly. Letters of union endorsement sent out just before Election Day to every teacher in a district meant something to city Democrats. On occasion, the UFT has also printed campaign fliers for individual legislators and, although the union is hardly a big spender, there have been instances of direct financial contributions to legislators' re-election campaigns.

Thus when the far more conservative, Republican-controlled state Senate indicated that it was ready to approve the broad school decentralization plan offered by the regents, the Democratic state Assembly balked. The liberal city Democrats in particular, the men who in the past had been most outspoken for civil rights legislation, sat quiet as stones to the implorings of their Negro colleagues.

Mel Weinstein

In a final *pro forma* amendment to adopt the sweeping decentralization plan, only two white liberals, Albert Blumenthal and Jerome Kretchmer, joined a united Negro delegation in voting aye. Having decided that the Democratic Assembly was "playing games," the Senate Republicans then withdrew their support for school decentralization.

This withdrawal of support was abetted by state Sen. John Marchi of Staten Island. Marchi is the ranking Republican from the city in the upper House, and in recent years has sponsored a series of UFT-drafted measures to increase city teachers' pensions by state mandate. The city protests these mandated increases, because the state allocates no parallel state aid to pay for them.

When signs of Democratic dissent to the regents' proposal became evident, Marchi suggested that one small aspect of the plan be changed. The original regents' bill would have eliminated the city Board of Education outright, replacing it with a full-time, professional three-member commission, appointed by the Mayor. Marchi's proposal was to require the City Council to consent to the Mayor's appointments. This meant politics in education to the regents, and they said no.

Marchi then came forward with his own decentralization plan, one that the teachers' union said it could live with. Although there were a number of close calls, with Albert Shanker personally appearing in Albany to make explicit in the law guarantees for teachers' tenure, the Marchi Bill became law. Mr. Shanker and a number of his union colleagues were in the Senate balcony when the final vote was taken. The regents were out of town.

After passing the Marchi Bill, which the Governor signed into law, the state government removed itself from the scene. Only when the city's education structure was in chaos, the following fall, did the state reappear. First to come in was State Education Commissioner James Allen. He is appointed by the regents and naturally sided with the Mayor, offering a plan that preserved the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district. But the union, having already beaten Allen and the regents at the 1968 legislative session, chose to ignore the plan, and Allen retired to Albany. The Commissioner said he was concerned about violating the principle of home rule in education and, in effect, wouldn't go where he wasn't wanted by all parties. He probably would have maintained this position but for political pressure on two fronts. First, the public was beginning to hound the Governor to call a special legislative session. (Local reporters were continually pestering him on this point as he campaigned the state for Nixon.) And individual state legislators, all running for re-election, were being beset by the same request. Not that they had the power to call such a session, but it became necessary for many campaigning legislators to join the chorus. If Allen had one main function in the eyes of the Governor and the legislators, it was to serve as a buffer to keep them out of the politically hurtful school crisis. With the public clamoring for a special session, or for direct Rockefeller involvement as in the sanitation crisis, it was obvious that the Commissioner and the regents were failing to ful-

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fill this sensitive political role. Thus, the Commissioner and the regents came back in, this time for good.

Another Allen plan was put forward to the disputants in the controversy, and again the union objected. Preservation of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district was fundamental to Allen's position. He felt that dissolution of the experimental district would doom the community-control concept for all time. He also feared a racial conflict, if the experimental district was dissolved.

Allen and the regents maintained this position, even when legislative leaders summoned them to Albany and threatened radical changes in the state educational structure. The substance of the threat was that if the regents and Allen did not eliminate the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district and directly run these local schools, the legislative leaders had the power to reduce the regents to an advisory role and make the Education Commissioner a humble appointee of the Governor, with the job security of, say, the Motor Vehicles Commissioner. This would have ended the careful separation in state government of education authorities from elected officials. Nevertheless, the regents and Allen held fast. At the same time, Allen extracted from the Governor a public statement that he would not call a special session.

Before the election, the union's position had been that it would take a special session to resolve the controversy. But when the Democrats lost control of the Assembly, that idea lost much of its appeal. For a special session might not only mean dissolution of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district, which may or may not have been a union objective; it might also mean considerable pressure to pass stronger anti-strike legislation in the area of public employee unions—higher fines for striking unions, penalties for striking workers and longer jail sentences for union leaders. Senate Majority Leader Earl Brydges suggested on a television broadcast that, had the legislature adopted the penalties originally proposed by the Taylor Commission, the UFT could have been fined $3 million for going out on strike. A special session of legislators in a punitive mood was to be avoided, and the union got down to hard bargaining with the parties at hand. The party with the most power was Dr. Allen.

The strike was ended, the schools are open, at least for the time being. The remaining question is the future of city school decentralization, which as with the remote and recent past of this awful controversy, rests with state government, and specifically with the 1969 session of the state legislature.

Even though the session doesn't convene until January, the leadership of the legislature has virtually decided to adopt a law that will split the city school system not into thirty community school districts but into five borough-wide districts. This would mean that, rather than a single city-wide board of education, there would be a Manhattan board of education, a Bronx board of education, and so on. Critics of the borough plan say that it will create five centralized evils in place of the one we have at present, that such a proposal demonstrates an almost total lack of comprehension of the principle of community control. They have a strong case, with this exception.

If the borough boards are elected, there is a distinct possibility that a pro-decentralization majority would be won in the Borough of Manhattan. This majority could decide in turn to continue experiments in community control of local school districts. Since this is at least some progress, many decentralization advocates are not rejecting borough control of schools out of hand. As a matter of fact, Dr. Allen has admitted privately that if pressed he could concur in this plan. And that is where matters now stand, with New York City again waiting for what New York State decides to do next with its teachers—and its children.

Emancipating the Mental Wards

MAX GORDON

Mr. Gordon, a former newspaper man and at present a director of technical research, has been for years closely associated with an organization of relatives and friends of patients in one of the New York State hospitals.

The recent strike at New York State's mental institutions was at least in part another manifestation of the many-sided drive by America's blacks to overcome the effects of their historic oppression. If the walkout at the hospitals did not develop the racial bitterness of the city's school strike, it was because the material sacrifice required of whites—primarily in the area of budget and taxes—is not as direct, tangible and individualized as the teachers perceived it to be; and because the form of the strike was that of a traditional labor struggle, with both sides striving for the support of all workers, black and white.

The New York State conflict contained some elements of the black rebellion developing generally within established national labor organizations, and aimed at breaking the monopoly of a white leadership that does not represent an expanding Negro membership. But the particular conditions in the state's mental hospitals, and their history, gave the struggle there its own importance.

Most nonprofessional employees in the state's mental institutions are ward personnel, the attendants and nurses who care for the patients around the clock. The work is tough, tense, at times dangerous—and low paid for the responsible, relatively sophisticated services performed. In the 1968 scale, an attendant's starting gross salary is somewhat less than $90 a week; after fifteen years it reaches a top of $120.

For this, the ward attendants act *in loco parentis* to the mentally ill, administer potent and varied drugs on sched-

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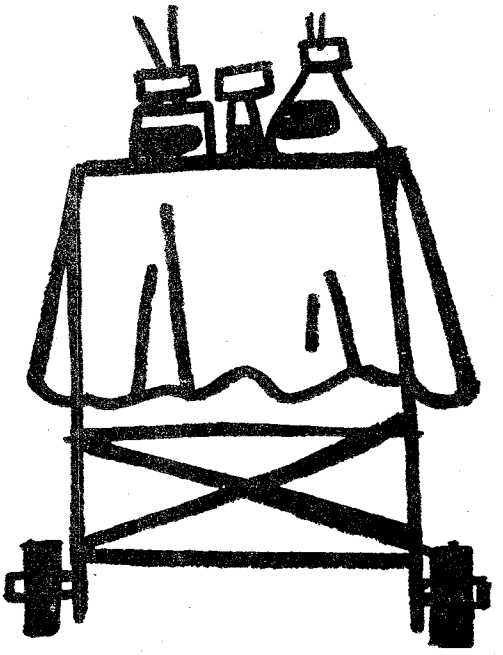

ule by injection or by mouth, take blood pressures, are alert to signs of physical reaction to drugs or to the onset of acute psychotic episodes, and generally minister to the needs of a few dozen patients at a time.

Until a quarter century ago, the custodial staffs in these state institutions were almost exclusively white. Located for the most part beyond the large population centers, the hospitals provided work for the local population. The pay was low, but better opportunities were hard to find. With World War II, and the postwar expansion and dispersal of large-scale industry, white workers could get away from these low-paying, thankless jobs.

As whites left, the state faced the alternative of drastically increasing pay scales or locating supplies of cheap labor to replace them. It chose the latter, sending recruiting teams into the Northern ghettos and the South to tap the sources provided by society's oppression of the blacks. By 1950, perhaps half the ward personnel in the hospitals of the metropolitan area was Negro and Puerto Rican. About a decade ago, when the rest of the whites who had sought economic refuge in these jobs during the depression began to retire, the proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans rose again. It is now between 70 and 80 per cent in the institutions of the New York City area.

As Msgr. James Cox, Catholic chaplain at Rockland State Hospital, describes the process, the black workers initially adapted to the paternalism of the hospitals' employee practices. But with the coming of the "black revolution," they rebelled against what they saw as exploitation forced upon them by their status in society. Since the existing Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA) did not seem an adequate channel for this rebellion, many joined the State, County and Municipal Employees of the AFL-CIO. Others, however, did begin to exert pressures within the CSEA. Both processes were accelerated by the 1967 Taylor Law, which both outlawed strikes and provided for collective bargaining by public employees.

The CSEA has been in existence for more than half a century. Although people join it almost automatically when they enter the state service, partly for its group insurance features and partly because the state hierarchy encourages membership, workers have participated little in its affairs. It has been generally controlled by upper echelons of the state government who from time to time "bargained" with the governor on an informal, fraternal basis. With the spread of unionism to public workers and the development of an AFL-CIO drive among state employees, the CSEA has recently solicited the participation of a wider membership. It has remained, nevertheless, a "respectable" organization within the civil service establishment, eschewing such "disruptive" tactics as picket lines and strikes.

The Taylor Law's guarantee of collective bargaining both stimulated growth of the rival AFL-CIO union, and generated internal pressures on the part of low-paid workers who had joined the CSEA almost automatically. Black workers, in the main those who through long service had taken on some of the conservative characteristics typical of civil servants, began to press for more active roles in the association, and they have assumed leading posts in a few chapters in the metropolitan area. But CSEA covers all departments and classifications in the state, and as a whole it continues to be dominated by a white elite.

CSEA does, however, carry 80 per cent of the state's employees on its books, and it claims that well over half of the AFL-CIO membership is also enrolled in the association. The union, on the other hand, has signed up some 9,000 to 10,000 employees in the state's mental institutions, or only about 30 per cent of the nonprofessional staffs. Thus the CSEA insists that it properly represents the majority and should be the sole bargaining agent, though the customary election for such an agent has not been held. As union spokesmen are quick to point out, however, in a recent collective bargaining election among state police, CSEA received only 8 per cent of the vote, though virtually all the police were association members. The union received a shade less than 50 per cent and the Policemen's Benevolent Association got about 42 per cent. In a later run-off, the union was beaten by the PBA. CSEA spokesmen explain their poor showing by saying that, naturally, the police would rather have a specifically police organization to represent them. This hardly explains why the police gave the union almost a majority in the initial balloting, as against the negligible vote received by CSEA. Nor is it clear why state hospital workers should not with equal naturalness want an organization specifically their own to represent them.

CSEA spokesmen are somewhat embarrassed to explain why so many of their members have chosen to fight for better conditions through a rival group. They attribute this to the affinity of workers in the metropolitan area for AFL-CIO organization—an association based on past or family union loyalty. This might be a factor among white workers, but it could scarcely weigh heavily with black workers, who are becoming increasingly hostile to the AFL-CIO bureaucracies.

The union claims organization in thirty-one of the state's thirty-four mental institutions. Membership in the

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various chapters naturally reflects the ethnic composition of the nonprofessional personnel in the respective institutions, and since organization is strongest in the metropolitan area, where the work force is overwhelmingly black, the union's membership and leadership has a large black component that is strongly influenced by the militant Negro movement. The union's goal in the recent strike was a collective bargaining election among workers in mental institutions, which its leaders appear to believe it will win, but the underlying purpose, of course, is to elevate pay levels and job status sharply. The union has projected the demand for a $6,000 minimum for ward attendants, with commensurate increases all along the line; and for a re-evaluation of jobs to reflect more accurately the nature of services rendered and to provide greater opportunities for career advancement. The militancy of the black workers has fired essentially conservative white workers in the same jobs upstate to a display of unwonted boldness in support of the union's position.

Before passage of the Taylor Law, Governor Rockefeller had bargained—informally and sporadically—with the CSEA. The law now requires him to negotiate formally. A Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) accordingly was set up to propose the division of state employees into appropriate bargaining units, with negotiating agencies to be elected within each unit. The PERB was to submit its report by November 15 of this year. Meanwhile the Governor, overriding the PERB's opposition, negotiated exclusively in 1967 with the CSEA as representative of a general unit consisting of 124,000 state workers (all except the state police and educational personnel). In 1968 he again initiated exclusive bargaining with the CSEA in the context of next year's state budget. When on November 15 the PERB had not yet presented a final plan for permanent bargaining units, and the Governor continued to talk exclusively with CSEA, the union decided it had to act. It began with the tactic of striking one or two hospitals at a time. Both the union and CSEA, and undoubtedly the Governor as well, were acutely aware of the likelihood that another year of exclusive contractual agreement between the CSEA and the Governor could break the union drive. Had the union not struck, the CSEA and the Governor would probably have signed a hasty contract before the PERB produced its bargaining unit plan. This was the stated goal of the CSEA, and Rockefeller's preference for that group was no secret.

In August, Paul E. Klein, director of representation for the PERB, had recommended that his board designate six separate bargaining units for the 124,000 workers then represented by the CSEA. Employees in state hospitals were to be included in a health service unit. The CSEA and the Governor reacted so violently that the PERB hastily dropped the idea, and called for additional study and public hearings. On November 27, ten days after initiation of the strike and with no further public hearings, the PERB presented a new plan dividing the state's workers into five bargaining units. This proposal was anything but an improvement from the Governor's viewpoint, but the strike was on, and Mr. Rockefeller immediately announced that he would abide by the plan; he broke off negotiations with the CSEA. The latter, however, has gone into court in an effort to retain its position as sole negotiator for all employees. This move is expected to hold up election of bargaining agents for the five units by perhaps a couple of months. If so, the results will come at about the time when the legislature is debating the Governor's budget, including salary schedules, thereby creating another tense situation in the state service.

Except for the delay, the union appears generally happy about the results of the strike. The current PERB plan places state hospital workers in a bargaining unit consisting of nonprofessional employees in state institutions. There are said to be forty such institutions in the unit—comprising, presumably, those in the Mental Hygiene Department and the reform schools for youthful delinquents. From the union's viewpoint, this is a considerable improvement even over Klein's proposals of late August. Its leaders are convinced that their strike action stopped the Governor from entering into a contractual agreement with the CSEA, compelled him to discontinue his negotiations with that body, and transformed his hostility to the August representation plan into acceptance of the November plan. These were, in fact, the union's precise goals when it called the strike.

Union spokesmen, however, are angered by efforts to punish strike leaders and strikers following the return to work. They note that, while Teachers union president Albert Shanker and Sanitation union head John De Lury received fifteen-day jail sentences for shutting down the entire city school system and stopping all garbage collection, two black leaders of a strike of little more than 1,000 workers in four state institutions were given lower court sentences of thirty and twenty days. Appeal is pending.

The state administration, operating through Mental Hygiene director Dr. Alan Miller, has also announced plans to punish the strikers as provided in the Taylor Law. Union spokesmen see that as a reflection of Governor Rockefeller's resentment at having been compelled to retreat from his insistence upon bargaining exclusively with CSEA, and possibly as a "grandstand play" necessitated by his criticism of Mayor Lindsay's supposedly "weak" handling of strikes by city workers. They doubt that the threat can be carried through in the light of existing employee shortages in the hospitals. There are substantial indications, however, that the imbalance in punishment of white and black union leaders, and the threat of mass disciplining of predominantly black strikers, is not unnoticed in New York's black communities.

Dr. Miller opposed the walkout but throughout the strike he made plain his belief that the dispute could be settled "only when the workers themselves are convinced that they will have an opportunity for an election." The director is apparently planning to overhaul the entire system of job classifications and career opportunity in the state hospitals. He has set up an apparatus to study the situation, an act which the union applauds. But Miller does not control appropriations; the Governor and the legislature do.

What about the 110,000 patients in the state's mental institutions? Those in hospitals which were affected or threatened by strike were undoubtedly subjected to broken

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routines and disrupted therapy. Many had to be returned to homes which were in no position to give them proper care, with resultant hardship for both patients and their families. But, more permanently the lives of hospital patients have suffered profoundly from the consequences of low pay for ward staffs. They need an adequate, stable and dedicated corps of workers to whom they can relate and who can get to know them. To date, job conditions have militated against the development of such a corps, at least in the metropolitan area. The turnover of ward personnel averages about 30 per cent annually. Since attendants go through a three-week training period in the classroom and ten weeks under supervision in the wards, this turnover represents a substantial waste of training time and money, and prevents staff stability.

In the matter of numbers, the customary vacancy ratio is about 15 per cent for staffs which would not be adequate even at capacity. A Congressionally established federal commission recommended in 1961 that state hospitals be modeled after those in the Veterans Administration, which operate on a 1-to-1 ratio of ward staff to patients. This does not mean that at any time there is an attendant on the wards for each patient. Three shifts, the five-day week, vacations, holidays and absenteeism reduce the actual proportion to an average of one attendant or nurse for every five or six patients. In New York State hospitals, however, the budgeted ratio of ward staff to patients is about 1 to 3. Hence, even with a full complement, the actual number of attendants and nurses on the wards at any time would average one for every fifteen or twenty patients. Vacancies, plus a substantial absenteeism stemming from the fact that ward workers must often hold down other jobs, have reduced actual attendance to an average of one ward worker for every twenty-five or thirty patients in most hospitals in the metropolitan area. In practice, many more attendants and nurses are needed on the day shifts, so that it is not unusual for one attendant to be responsible for sixty or seventy patients during the night. This staff pressure also prevents the weeding out of those who are temperamentally or otherwise unfit for the delicate job of administering to the mentally ill with compassion, fidelity and patience.

Thus while the form of the labor conflict in the state's mental institutions is that of a jurisdictional struggle, a good deal more is involved. The black majority of nonprofessional workers in the institutions in the metropolitan area is leading a rebellion against the low status into which it has been forced by oppression. To the extent that it succeeds in elevating pay and status, whether directly through the union or through union and internal pressures on the CSEA, it will confer as a side effect considerable benefits upon the mentally ill and retarded who are compelled to spend some or all of their lives in the state institutions.

THE BRAMBLE OF POWER

RONALD V. SAMPSON

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Every age flatters itself on its uniqueness, but it is difficult not to believe that our own age is peculiar for the extent of the breakdown of its established beliefs. Certainly, in retrospect, periods of cultural transition do stand out. Somewhere, for instance, between the burning of Joan of Arc and the death of Copernicus, the fixed certitudes of a unified, feudal Catholic Christendom perished, and out of the ruins emerged the modern world. It began with the belief in Progress, it proceeded to spawn a belief in Democracy, and came finally to rest or rather unrest on the faith of Socialism. Today, this world, with its trinity of Progress, Democracy, Socialism, is itself visibly perishing before our eyes. It is true that the words still evoke a positive response in the minds of many men, but there is a deep and widespread sense of disillusionment and frustration.

It may be objected that this is an unreal way of focusing the map of our cultural universe, since it ignores the deep fissure which is thought to divide existing culture into two warring halves, the great 20th-century chasm between liberalism and communism. Socialism is an unquestioned axiom in one-half of the world, a term of abuse in the other; while democracy, if a universally hallowed term, is translated in contradictory fashion—we are told—by its liberal and Communist adherents. I wish to suggest, nevertheless, that an ethos common to all of mid-20th-century culture transcends the lesser differences within it, that it can be summed up in the trinity of animating beliefs, Progress, Democracy, Socialism. Further, that this ethos, which has shaped the thinking of intellectuals throughout the world on both sides of the ideological curtain, is itself now being challenged at its roots and increasingly found wanting.

First, consider Progress. Insofar as the concept is concerned with securing the moral improvement of mankind, it is beyond criticism; but there is a quite different meaning attached to the idea of progress, and it has done much to shape the world in which we live. The medieval world was static in that the map of knowledge was fixed by the authority of the ancients, the Scriptures, and insofar as these required authoritative exegesis, the Church, one and indivisible. The Copernican revolution toppled all those authorities at a single blow; the new method as elaborated by Bacon, Descartes and Pascal insured that the theory of knowledge itself was henceforth dynamic, self-correcting and self-perpetuating, grounded not in authority but in experience and reason, common to all men. The reason why this revolution soon swept everything before it, why the authority of religion came to be superseded by the

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authority of science, was simply that knowledge, as Bacon explained, was power. The scientists themselves, Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, even Galileo Galilei, may have been animated largely by the love of knowledge and the inimitable satisfaction that comes from enlarging the understanding; but lesser men were excited by the unlimited prospects for power over nature opened to them by the mastery of such controlling keys. In short, although science was destined to be an easy victor in its battle with religion by virtue of its claim to have an unrivaled means to advance human riches and material well-being, the reason for the increasingly uncritical worship of progress lay in its immense emotional appeal to the root human appetite for power—power first over nature and through that, power over other men.

The theory of Democracy was implicit both in the scientific revolution and in the Reformation, for in each case the appeal was against authority to the common stock of reason available in every man. The appeal to reason was implicitly an appeal to the equality of the individual insofar as no class, church, state or any other group could claim to have any monopoly of reason. But how was the reason of large numbers of individuals to be translated into effective political action; how were the wills of feudal aristocrats to be supplanted by the wills of common people? There seemed only one solution in logic that could meet the problem, and representation based on suffrage became the legitimizing principle of state sovereignty.

Although Rousseau had long since stated the obvious—that will cannot be represented—people in the 19th century had an overwhelming need to deceive themselves that it could, and the logic of *representative* government carried everything before it. It was tacitly agreed to ignore Rousseau's tactless insistence on the illusion of supposing that a few could take decisions involving large numbers without doing violence to their essential liberties, no matter how intricate or sophisticated the balloting arrangements of the electoral process. Henceforth, every state was required to prove its legitimacy by becoming democratic. That is, the people, generally defined as all adults of sound mind over the age of 21, were to have the right to say yea or nay at fairly regular intervals to certain political groups who sought the right to govern. The purpose of government naturally remained what it had always been, the exercise of power. So democracy like progress harnessed to its chariot the enormous energy of the human appetite for power.

The demand for Socialism originally was no more than the application by people living in a capitalist society of the democratic principle of equality to the economic life of the community. It is impossible to defend capitalism as a rational and just mode of organizing economic activity. Belloc, who loathed it, defined capitalism briefly as "the planned exploitation of the majority of non-owners by the minority who are owners." Keynes, who defended it, had this to say: "For modern capitalism is absolutely irreligious, without internal union, without much public spirit, often though not always, a mere congeries of possessors and pursuers." Socialism, as so far practiced, consists of transferring either by expropriation or compensation the ownership of capital and the instruments of production from private hands to public agencies. The intent was to abolish the profit motive and, by removing immense sums of unearned wealth from private control, to re-establish on behalf of the community the right to manage its own economic life. Though there was much else in the Socialist aspiration, that is what has resulted so far—almost completely in the Eastern countries of the Communist world, and partially so in the "mixed" (capitalist-dominated) economies of the West. All public ownership in both East and West has taken the form of nationalization (except for a very small degree of municipal ownership of local utilities). And a nationalized industry is neither owned nor directed by the workers, consumers or any other members of the public at large; it is controlled, directly or indirectly, by the government.

Socialism may have been responsible for raising the material standard of life of the workers, it may have brought about a more just distribution of income—and these are important gains—but one indisputable consequence of "socialism," as so far experienced everywhere, has been to add enormously to the existing power of the minority who wield political sovereignty, a power which has become, if not greater than under capitalism, certainly not less. (It is very difficult to separate the variables in order to make a judgment. Obviously there is less overt dissent in the USSR than in the United States or in Britain, but this disparity cannot by any means be attributed simply to the differences of economic system.) In short, "socialism" also has served to give an immense boost to the concentration of power.

Taken together, these interacting aggrandizements of power in the scientific and technical, the political and economic spheres have been instrumental in promoting a staggering world-wide increase of military power, or power in its purest form. The demands of this military power have in turn become insatiable, and are now so great that they cannot be met except by continent-wide superpowers, which alone command the necessary resources. The United States, the USSR and China are already in the category, and Europe is striving toward unification in order not to be excluded outright from big-power status in the League of the Giants.

I hold that the culture of modern man is profoundly secular, empirical, pragmatic, even (in a manner of speaking) egalitarian, resting on the three pillars of Progress, Democracy and Socialism; that this culture is bankrupt and is leading us to total disaster because it has consistently turned a blind eye to the fact that its apparent idealism has in fact masked that source of all evil, the love of power. The charge is sweeping but can be sustained, I believe, by a closer look at the pass to which we have been brought by a misguided faith in Progress, Democracy and Socialism.

Many in the 18th and 19th centuries believed that all the world needed was to rid itself of the residual traces of superstition, scholasticism, authoritarian ecclesiasticism. Knowledge and reason, thus unfettered, would then lead man to ever-increasing prosperity and happiness. The

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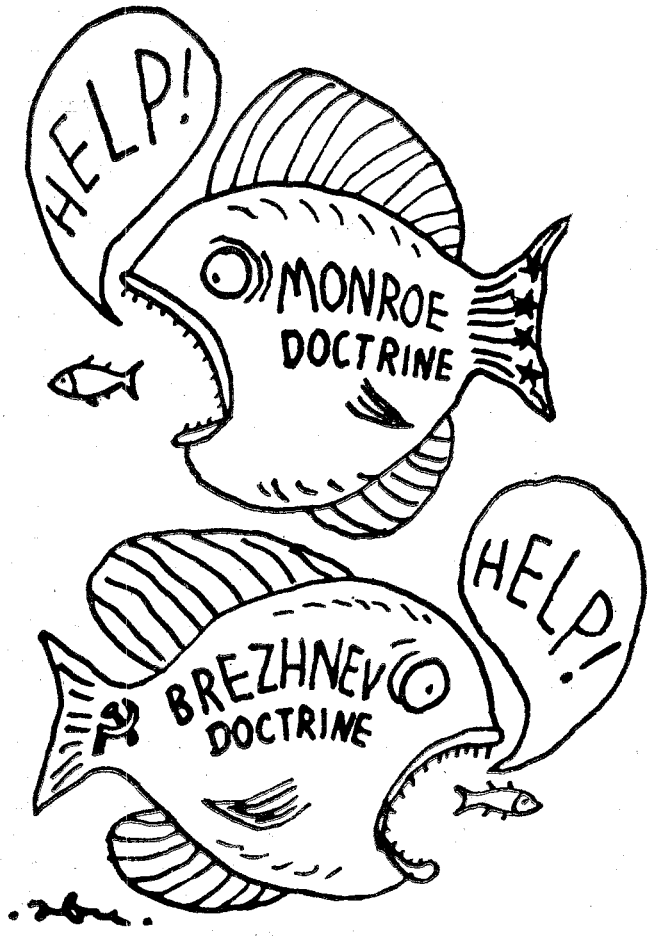

The Tribune (London)

spirits of Voltaire, Comte and Mill, the embodiments of liberal optimism and rationalism, live on in our midst, yet observe some of the "blessings" of latter-day progress. In what is still called "defense," the engines of destruction and their means of delivery in speed, accuracy and length of trajectory have developed to incredible lengths. Not only is it possible to exterminate whole cities in a matter of seconds; but the machinery, a vast labyrinthine organization, is already in being throughout the world to carry out such a project, immediately the alleged deterrent should fail to work.

In addition to the threats of "defense," we have learned to accept as normal a mode of transport which in Britain alone kills more than 7,000 persons a year and injures up to 400,000. In the air the British and the French are competing with the United States and Russia for the "honor" of pioneering supersonic aircraft—which "achievement," if ever permitted, would at grotesque cost become an unprecedented scourge to the hundreds of millions living beneath the supersonic boom carpet. Even the less thoughtful are beginning to realize that new knowledge of potential benefit to mankind, far from representing inevitable gain, may only too probably become a curse, once the possibilities of its prostitution have been grasped by the impulses to power and profit, and with those impulses determining the priorities. Tolstoy lived long enough to be shown the motorcar. He commented: "Motorcars, in our Russian world! There are people who have no shoes, and here are motorcars costing twelve thousand rubles."

A television set in every home has already gone far to transform both our politics and our culture. Whatever the merit of the programs, the inevitable effect is to increase enormously the power and revenues of the controlling few, whose overriding interest is to maintain their own power. And we are only at the beginning of this disastrous revolution. The electronics industry has not yet invaded the schools on an extensive scale, but the attempt is under way. The educational public will of course at first resist, but they will be subjected to the usual barrage of plausible commercial arguments to overcome their basic instincts and better judgment. The emphasis will be on efficiency, economy, the indisputable value of some technological aids in education; while the central corroding evil, that the entire project is being inspired by the will to power and profit, will be ignored. Tolstoy was taken to see that new marvel, the motion picture. "What a wonderful instrument this could be in the schools," he said, "for studying geography and the way people live. But it will be prostituted. Like everything else."

"Within the next two decades, life on our planet will be showing the first signs of succumbing to industrial pollution. The atmosphere will become unbreathable for men and animals; all life will cease in rivers and lakes; plants will wither from poisoning." This is not an extract from a novel by H. G. Wells but a summary by *The Guardian* (September 16) of a report from a UNESCO Conference of Conservation experts. Of the havoc being caused to the balance of nature by the indiscriminate use of toxic chemicals as pesticides in agriculture, we have been warned at length by Rachel Carson and others. From the world of "pure" science, more and more reports filter through to suggest that human beings are actually engaged in experiments to mutate and reconstruct artificially the very genes which make us into human beings, further than which it is not possible for perversion to go. These terrible dangers arise directly from the fact that the huge numbers of scientists and technologists, East and West, have been reared from earliest childhood in a false metaphysic by which they either delude themselves that they have no responsibility as scientists for the ultimate purpose of their researches, or alternatively that they are pragmatists manipulating matter according to the dialectical principles animating nature.

It is not easy to decide how much space to devote to the issue of contemporary democracy. To tens of millions the ritual of voting is a cornerstone of civilization; the habit has become a reflex action, like making sure that everything is locked up before going to bed (the ultimate reason for government itself, as Hobbes pointed out). Nevertheless, inexorable fact rules here, as among other sacred customs, and the facts have now become so clear as to be increasingly visible even to people conditioned by intensive indoctrination.

While the phenomena of Executive government, machine politics, managerial administration and public relations manipulation are to be found in all "democratic" industrialized states, nowhere has the fraud of the democratic façade become more crudely evident than in Britain. The

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reason for this is that nowhere else has a serious attempt been made on a nation-wide scale to achieve disarmament through the accepted constitutional channels. The machinery of democracy was invoked by the biggest grass-roots political movement of modern times to legislate nuclear disarmament. When a majority was finally won for this policy in the Labour Party, the party at present governing Britain, the ruling clique was wholly undeterred by its minority status and simply declared its defiance of the majority, knowing that it had the power to do so. The methods included all the techniques of the professional politician: rigid control of key candidate selections, expulsion threats, actual expulsions, ambiguous resolutions, contradictory resolutions, silencing of opponents, the traditional methods of deceit and intimidation that have marked the struggle for power through the ages.

How could such things happen in a country with any experience of democracy? Because where supreme military power is at stake, the press is as much a puppet of the circles ruling a so-called democracy as it is of those in the most totalitarian states. The result is that the electoral choice available to the voter in Britain, the United States, France and West Germany is illusory. Consider briefly the "alternatives" in the United States and Britain on the record of the recent past. When one recalls the more glaring examples of direct imperial intervention by the United States in the domestic affairs of small nations since the last World War, the Democrats and Republicans share the dishonors about equally. If the Republicans are formally responsible for toppling the authorized governments of Iran (Mossadegh) and Guatemala, the Democrats must take the blame for Greece, Santo Domingo and Cuba. Vietnam, a crime *sui generis*, is a responsibility fully shared by both parties. Whoever occupies the White House, the CIA remains. Britain under the Tories witnessed the abortive buccaneering exploit of Suez, the war in Cyprus, the atrocities of the Hola camp in Kenya, the setting up of the Central African Federation in the teeth of united African protest, and at home fiscal concessions to the rich in a framework of economic inflation. The Labour Party, elected to office in the name of socialism, has been Lyndon Johnson's most servile ally in Vietnam, has gassed people in Aden, betrayed the Africans in Rhodesia, supplied arms to slaughter and starve the people of Biafra despite the disgust of the entire nation, and recognized the Greek colonels in Athens. At home, it has introduced apartheid into the Commonwealth Immigration Act, abolished the principle of a free health service, drastically cut back the education program, increased unemployment by deflationary measures, and threatened to make strikes illegal. Such choices as these constitute the democratic freedoms of the common man.

Socialism, in practice as distinct from theory, has come to be equated with the principle of public ownership or nationalization. In the West, it has been carried out on only a limited scale, and is therefore difficult to evaluate. All one can say is that the structure of command, the morale of the workers, the quality of human relations are not markedly different in the public and private sectors. Certainly there is no longer any disposition to embrace public ownership as a panacea for social and economic problems.

Of the Communist countries, where public ownership is total or virtually so, it must be observed that, since no individuals can make profit out of the ownership of the means of production, great private fortunes have been eliminated and the power of money as such has been drastically shorn; but that inequality of remuneration for labor remains the basic distributive principle as in the West. Moreover, the Socialist structure of military power, the volume of "defense" expenditure, the astronomical sums spent on the lunacy of the space race, are parallel to those of the West —and the economic burden on a society not so far advanced industrially is correspondingly greater.

Both the Hungarians and the Czechs have experienced direct and brutal external intervention in their internal affairs. Internally throughout the Communist countries, the private individual has even less ability to dissent from or protest against public policy than he does in the West. There was a certain irony (in which we can take no pleasure) in the fact that during the May days, many of the radical dissenters in Paris looked ideologically to Marx, while dissent in Czechoslovakia looked enviously on the possibilities for protest open to Western students and workers. The other important point to note about "Socialist" experience is that people in Communist countries feel the same hunger for consumer goods and urban amenities as do those in the West. The disastrous 20th-century movement from the countryside to the town, with the resultant concentration of populations in megalopolis, and the denuding of the rural areas, is not a malaise peculiar to capitalist-dominated economies but is a world-wide phenomenon.

The culture of the entire modern world—both in the collectivist, materialist half and in the individualist, materialist half—is governed by the three principles of Progress, Democracy and Socialism, with consequences that by any sane human values are now intolerable and that must inevitably become worse. What went wrong? There was nothing but excellence in the principles themselves. Why then is it such a sterile, disillusioning experience to read now the zealous reformers of yesterday, the writings of progressive intellectuals of the 18th century, of the Victorians and even—I had almost said especially—of the 1930s? The writings, that is, of Wells, Cole, Laski, Strachey, the Webbs, Tawney, Keynes. The only exception is Russell, and the exception is significant. Russell is the only one who has had any real grasp of the true nature of power.

The trouble with all the other progressives, democrats and Socialists, was that they not only failed to diagnose the true evil of power but actually depended on it as the indispensable means of implementing their ideals and reforms. A ritualistic genuflection was felt to be obligatory from time to time in the direction of Acton's hackneyed dictum, but the general assumption was that it hung there as a warning to us lest we should stray from the strict path of liberal parliamentarianism and fall into the kind of military junta despotism associated with the Balkans, the Middle

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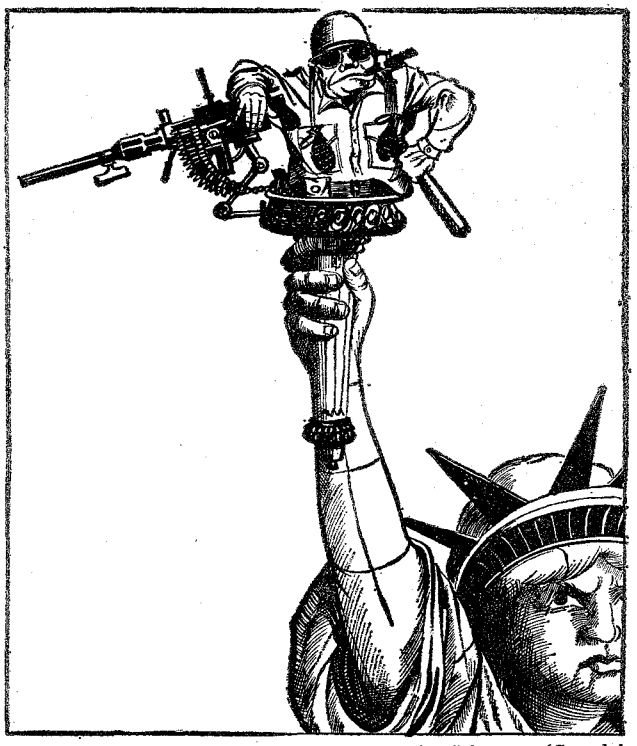
East or Latin America. Power was never analyzed psychologically or ethically, since it was accepted as an inescapable political necessity, as natural to *homo politicus* as procreation was to *homo libidinis*. The result was that the harder good men worked to achieve progress, democracy, socialism, the more grievous their situation became. What occurred in reality was a steady, unbroken growth in the quantum of power—fewer and fewer men came to control the lives of more and more men. At a time when the truth of human equality had never been so widely grasped, we experienced in 1962 the humiliation of Cuba week when the fate of all mankind *appeared* to rest in the hands of two men, Khrushchev and Kennedy, exceptional only for the intensity of their love of power.

To diagnose a disease so galloping and so obvious is not difficult. To prescribe the remedy is also not difficult. To carry out that remedy is very difficult indeed. Our culture still takes its name from the remarkable Palestinian of 2,000 years ago; the epoch itself is called Christian, and the year of His birth marks our largest division of historic time. Therefore it makes sense to begin with the record of the origins of the religion by which most of the Western Hemisphere has lived through two millennia.

The significance of the New Testament lies not in its recommendation of any political program or policy. Had it done so, it would have perished in a season, for nowhere is the smell of death so sharp as over yesterday's politics. Its significance rests in its discussion of how the individual ought to conduct himself in this world. It concerns itself with the religious problem of the meaning of human life, in order to elucidate the nature of a man's obligation to God and to his neighbor. At the same time, the Gospels cannot in any sense be described as apolitical. They not only abound with references to the state, the military, the tax gatherers, the rich, the clergy; they provide us with the classic confrontation of Caesar and the religious dissenter. Jesus was judicially murdered by crucifixion not because he attacked the state directly. He did not do so, nor did he urge his friends to do so. But he did insist that a man's obligation to God necessitated that he should behave toward his neighbor in a manner that ran directly counter to the way in which the authorities in church and state conducted their relations with those who allegedly owed them allegiance.

Moreover, Jesus taught that, while a man should always return good for evil and give even more than was expected or asked of him, he should under no circumstances obey an evil will in order to avoid conflict, he should not forfeit his own right to refrain at all times from coercing others. But if all men followed such a nostrum, it would totally destroy state power; even a few brave men who were beyond the reach of intimidation could constitute a serious threat to that power. Such individuals were accordingly put to death: Jesus, Peter, Paul, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Maximilianus, Marcellus the centurion, to name but a few.

Their courage inspired many others; but with the growth in numbers the extraordinary quality of the response diminished, and various compromises were introduced to enable the less heroic to avoid paying penalties they very



Donato, Toronto Telegram (Canada)

naturally felt unable to meet. Moreover, their own leaders acquired a taste for leadership and organization. The most obvious compromise was to acquiesce in the minimum demands of the state, to concede legitimacy to a purely political sphere of human activity, and that is what (with recurring exceptions of small "heretic" minorities) the vast majority of "Christians" have been doing ever since. We have been doing it for so long that over wide areas understanding has been lost of the fact that power and conscience must inevitably clash. When men have set out on this slippery slope, there is no logical place to draw the line beyond which not another inch will be yielded to state power. Step by step, we are led onward, until we reach the ultimate betrayal where reside the Machiavellis and the de Maistres to claim moral legitimacy for Kratos, power, Caesar, the state in its own right, spinning its own self-authentication out of the logic of its own requirements. The safety of the people is the supreme law, and by the safety of the people is meant the preservation of the existing power structures. When men begin to listen respectfully to such views, it is only a matter of time before they pay the price of Auschwitz and Hiroshima, and all the horrors of totalitarian power.

However, in contemporary political thought, insofar as there can be said to be any, we have to deal with a defense of politics in more muted terms. The specifically political arena seeks our rational support in the guise of a quasi-judicial, democratic arbitrator, the alleged thermometer of "consensus." According to this analysis, the "virtuous" or "legitimate" power is the one which recognizes that in a human world the quest for power is an inescapable reality, accepts the struggle and seeks itself to hold the ropes and play the part of honest broker. The ferocity of the struggle for power is mitigated by liberal parliamen-

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tary discussion and debate, aided by a multiplicity of pressure groups and voluntary associations designed to elucidate the lowest common multiple of general agreement. Once this consensus has been obtained, the democratic solution is benevolently imposed by the government as a good, impartial judge, eager only to command the widest possible area of consent.

This analysis is specious and dishonest in that it fails entirely to look into the question of the nature of power itself. It studiously ignores the fact that virtue cannot by any conceivable logic dwell together with power; that the power arena is necessarily confined exclusively to the big battalions, access to which is neither desired by nor permitted to virtue; that the so-called consensus makers, if not themselves the voices of enormously wealthy vested interests must take those interests into account in order that they should be seen to speak "realistically."

From the standpoint of mending our existing grievous situation, "realistic" recommendations—that is, those which reflect the existing distribution of power and prejudice—are quite futile. It is they that have caused our troubles, and an answer in terms of realistic politics is therefore not possible. The politicians are demonstrably impotent, except to go on doing more damage. True values can realize themselves in the life of the individual only by nonpower means. Without intending to do so, individuals who govern their lives by love of truth, and who are consequently possessed of conviction and integrity, cannot but encourage and strengthen the rest of us in a similar quest. For one thing, they are seen to be both disinterested and consistent, as well as free from the circumlocutions, ambiguities and equivocations which inevitably characterize the utterances of those who are bound not by truth but by the demands of the political market.

No power figure, no officeholder can in the nature of things afford corresponding convictions. He is obliged by the requirements of his position, by consideration of how much truth the public will bear, to make vacillatory, opinion-poll-veering pronouncements. That is the price of office, of "responsibility." If the process is sustained long enough, and depending on how close the particular officeholder draws to the apex of power, the inner fortress of the soul must itself be threatened. At the height of their power, a Caesar, a Charlemagne, a Napoleon, a Hitler and their pocket contemporaries pay a terrible price. They are simulacra, power puppets. All power corrupts absolutely.

Only by appealing to the private individual can we give meaning to the legitimate ideals of Progress, Democracy and Socialism. We shall do so not by fashioning yet another political party, inscribing new slogans and policies on its masthead, in order to strive by power means—that is, external coercive means—to legislate men into goodness. That is like setting out to square the circle or to make hot ice. The effect of substituting true values for false ones must ultimately be reflected in the external behavior of the individuals concerned. True progress consists not of learning to be more acquisitive or faster moving but of learning to renounce powerfully felt desires. True democracy consists not of joining a party or caucus and manipulating a mass public of passive voters but of striving to learn the genuine needs of one's immediate neighbor and attempting to meet them on an egalitarian basis. True socialism consists not of an externally imposed collectivism but of cooperation with one's fellow workers to produce for use, not profit.

The mere statement of abstract principle sounds both sententious and impractical, but that is because we are so deeply conditioned to equate practical politics with power politics. Even radicals who protest sincerely their attachment to nonviolence often think and speak in terms of externally imposed political solutions. The reason is that the condoning of *some* violence (politely termed, "force") is a prerequisite of any hitherto imaginable form of government, and that to be thought responsible one must work from a policy that has at least a prospect of being imposed through some form of governmental institution or agency in a foreseeable future. To go outside these tacitly agreed limits of respectable discussion, limits which desperately need to be enlarged, is to condemn oneself to the isolation of the utopian Ishmaelite. But when all political discussion is restricted to what can realistically be prescribed for the population as a whole in the light of our existent fears and ambitions, the medicine that is urgently necessary, namely, true analysis of the fundamental causes of our present discontents, is never seriously considered.

The fundamental mistake of all political discussion is its assumption that some men must rule if the rest are to enjoy the indispensable blessings of law and order within and protection from external aggression without. In this way power, the basic cause of the threat of "anarchy" and war, is neatly side-stepped. The magnitude of the problem is impossible to exaggerate, but that is not a reason for evading it. Long-term action needs to be undertaken at the level of psychotherapy, family mores, child nurture and an education, cooperative and not competitive, that is devoted to rearing the whole creative potential of man through the work of his hands and his brain in a life that is not divorced from nature.

The will to power and the disposition to submit are alike products of a lack of genuine creativity and emotional deprivation at the hands of those whose task it was to love us. To seek power is a mark of inner moral sterility and loss of spiritual tranquillity. And this must have been understood from the earliest times, or Jotham could never have conceived of his parable of the trees, as related in the Book of Judges. Neither the olive nor the fig nor the vine was willing to be promoted over the other trees in order to rule over them, because each in the way appointed for it was productive of precious fruit. The trees therefore elected as their king the bramble who was uncreative and clutched at the scepter of office that was proffered him, as a compensation for his deficiencies on other fronts.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Undoing of the World of Things

THE DEMANDS OF ART. *By Max Raphael. With an Introduction by Herbert Read. Translated by Norbert Guterman. Princeton University Press (Bollingen Series). 258 pp. $15.*

JOHN BERGER

Mr. Berger is a regular contributor to New Society *(London). His* Art and Revolution, *a new work on the role of the artist in the USSR, will be published by Pantheon in the spring.*

Some fight because they hate what confronts them; others because they have taken the measure of their lives and wish to give meaning to their existence. The latter are likely to struggle more persistently. Max Raphael was a very pure example of the second type.

He was born near the Polish-German border in 1889. He studied philosophy, political economy and the history of art in Berlin and Munich. His first work was published in 1913. He died in New York in 1952. In the intervening forty years he thought and wrote incessantly. Only a fraction of his work has been published and most of that is out of print. He left thousands of pages of manuscript which his widow and friends are ordering and hoping to publish. Their subject matter ranges from paleontology to classical architecture, from Gothic sculpture to Flaubert, from modern city planning to epistemology.

For five years I tried to interest European publishers in his work. In vain. A fact which I mention only because in a few decades it may be hard to remember how unknown and unrecognized Max Raphael still was in 1968.

His life was austere. He held no official academic post. He was forced several times to emigrate. He earned very little money. He wrote and noted without cease. As he traveled, small groups of friends and unofficial students collected around him. By the cultural hierarchies he was dismissed as an unintelligible but dangerous Marxist: by the party Communists as a Trotskyist.

To appreciate the possible role of the book under review demands a clarity about the present situation of the arts. (Nobody who is not prepared to grapple with fundamentals should approach the book.) It is a situation of extreme crisis. The validity of art itself is in question. Many significant artists in the world question whether art is justified—not on account of the quality of a particular talent but on account of the relevance of art to the demands of the time in which we live.

Raphael quotes a remark by Cézanne (in the context of a quite different analysis):

> I paint my still lifes, these *natures mortes*, for my coachman who does not want them, I paint them so that children on the knees of their grandfathers may look at them while they eat their soup and chatter. I do not paint them for the pride of the Emperor of Germany or the vanity of the oil merchants of Chicago. I may get ten thousand francs for one of these dirty things, but I'd rather have the wall of a church, a hospital, or a municipal building.

Since 1848, artists unready to be mere paid entertainers have tried to resist the embourgeoisement of their finished work, the transformation of the spiritual value of their work into property value. This regardless of individual political opinions as such. In the years after Cézanne, the resistance of artists became more active and more violent—in that it was built into their work. What Constructivism, Dadaism, Surrealism, etc., all shared was their opposition to art as a cultural alibi for existing society. In the last decade the tactics of resistance have changed. Less frontal confrontation. Instead, infiltration. Irony and philosophic skepticism. The consequences in Tachism, Pop Art, Minimal Art, Neo-Dada, etc. But art is still transformed into the property of the property-owning class. In the case of the visual arts the property involved is physical; in the case of the other arts it is moral property.

Art historians with a social or Marxist formation have interpreted the art of the past in terms of class ideology. They have shown that a class, or groups in a class, tended to support and patronize art which to some degree reflected or furthered their own class values and views. It now appears that in the later stages of capitalism this has ceased to be generally true. Art is treated as a commodity whose meaning lies only in its rarity value and in its functional value as a stimulant of sensation. Works of art become objects whose essential character is like that of diamonds or sun-tan lamps. The determining factors of this development—internationalism of monopoly, powers of mass-media communication, level of alienation in consumer societies—need not concern us here. But the consequence does. *Art can no longer oppose what is.* The faculty of proposing an alternative reality has been reduced to the faculty of designing—more or less well—an object. Hence the imaginative doubt in all artists worthy of their category. Hence the fact that the militant young begin to use "art" as a cover for more direct action.

One might argue that artists should continue, regardless of society's immediate treatment of their work: that they should address themselves to the future, as all imaginative artists after 1848 have had to do. But this is to ignore the world-historical moment at which we have arrived. Imperialism, European hegemony, the moralities of capitalist-Christianity and state-communism, the practice of constructing "humanist" cultures on a basis of monstrous exploitation—this entire interlocking system is now being challenged: a world struggle is being mounted against it. Those who envisage a different future are obliged to define their position toward this struggle, obliged to choose. Such a choice tends to lead them to impotent despair or to the conclusion that world liberation is the pre-condition for any new valid cultural achievement. (I simplify and somewhat exaggerate the positions for the sake of brevity.) Either way their doubts about the value of art are increased.

In this present crisis, is it any longer possible to speak of the revolutionary meaning of art? This is the fundamental question. It is the question that Max Raphael begins to answer in *The Demands of Art.*

The book is based on some lectures that Raphael gave in the early thirties to a modest adult education class in Switzerland under the title "How Should One Approach a Work of Art." He chose five works and devoted a chapter of extremely thorough and varied analysis to each. The works are: Cézanne's "Mont Sainte-Victoire" of 1904-06 (the one in the Philadelphia Museum), Degas' etching of "Madame X Leaving Her Bath," Giotto's "Lamentation over the Dead Christ" (Padua) compared with his later "Death of Saint Francis" (Florence), a drawing by Rembrandt of "Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dreams," and Picasso's "Guernica." (The chapter on Guernica was of course

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written later.) These are followed by a general chapter on "The Struggle to Understand Art," and by an appendix consisting of an unfinished but extremely important essay entitled "Towards an Empirical Theory of Art," written in 1941. The editing, production and translating of the present volume—under the direction of two of Raphael's friends—are a model of an efficient labor of love.

I shall not discuss Raphael's analyses of the five individual works. They are brilliant, long, highly particularized and dense. The most I can do is attempt a crude outline of his general theory.

A question which Marx posed but could not answer: If art, in the last analysis, is a superstructure of the economic base, why does its power to move us endure long after the base has been transformed? Why, asked Marx, do we still look toward Greek art as an ideal? He began to answer by speaking about the "charm" of "young children" (the young Greek civilization), and then broke off the manuscript and was far too occupied ever to return to the question.

"A transitional epoch," writes Raphael, "always implies uncertainty: Marx's struggle to understand his own epoch testifies to this. In such a period two attitudes are possible. One is to take advantage of the emergent forces of the new order with a view to undermining it, to affirm it in order to drive it beyond itself: this is the active, militant, revolutionary attitude. The other clings to the past, is retrospective and romantic, bewails or acknowledges the decline, asserts that the will to live is gone—in short, it is the passive attitude. Where economic, social and political questions were at stake Marx took the first attitude; in questions of art he took neither." He merely reflected his epoch.

Just as Marx's taste in art—the classical ideal excluding the extraordinary achievements of paleolithic, Mexican, African art—reflected the ignorance and prejudice of art appreciation in his period, so his failure to create (though he saw the need to do so) a theory of art larger than that of the superstructure theory was the consequence of the continual, overwhelming primacy of economic power in the society around him. In view of this lacuna in Marxist theory, Raphael sets out to develop a theory of art that he calls empirical "because it is based on a study of works of art from all periods and nations. I am convinced that mathematics, which has traveled a long way since Euclid, will some day provide us with the means of formulating the results of such a study in mathematical terms." And he reminds the skeptical reader that before infinitesimal calculus was discovered even nature could not be studied mathematically:

> Art is an interplay, an equation of three factors—the artist, the world and the means of figuration.

Raphael's understanding of the third factor, the means or process of figuration, is crucial. For it is this process which permits him to consider the finished work of art as possessing a specific reality of its own:

> Even though there is no such thing as a single, uniquely beautiful proportion of the human body or a single scientifically correct method of representing space, or one method only of artistic figuration, whatever form art may assume in the course of history, it is always a synthesis between nature (or history) and the mind, and as such it acquires a certain autonomy vis-à-vis both these elements. This independence seems to be created by man and hence to possess a psychic reality; but in point of fact the process of creation can become an existent only because it is embodied in some concrete material.

The artist chooses his material—stone, glass, pigment or a mixture of several. He then chooses a way of working it—smoothly, roughly, in order to preserve its own character, in order to destroy or transcend it. What is represented is materialized in the worked, raw material; whereas the worked raw material acquires an immaterial character through its representations and the *unnatural* unity which connects and binds them together. "Artistic" material, so defined, a substance half physical and half spiritual, is an ingredient of the material of figuration.

The two processes which produce the material of figuration (the process of transforming raw material into artistic material and that of transforming the matter of sensation into means of representation) are continually interrelated. Together they constitute what might be called the matter of art.

Figuration begins with the separate long drawn-out births of ideas and motif, and is complete when the two are born and indistinguishable from each other.

"The characteristics of the individual idea are: *(1)* It is simultaneously an idea and a feeling. *(2)* It contains the contrasts between the particular and the general, the individual and the universal, the original and the banal. *(3)* It is a progression toward ever deeper meanings. *(4)* It is the nodal point from which secondary ideas and feelings develop."

"The motif is the sum total of line, color and light by means of which the conception is realized." The motif begins to be born apart from, but at the same time as the idea, because "only in the act of creation does the content become fully conscious of itself."

What is the relation between the pictorial (individual) idea and nature? "The pictorial idea separates usable from unusable elements of natural appearances and, conversely, study of natural appearances chooses from among all possible manifestations of the pictorial idea the one that is most adequate. The difficulty of the method comes down to proving what one believes—proof here consisting in this, that the opposed methodological starting points (experience and theory) are unified, brought together in a reality of a special kind, different from either, and that this reality owes its pictorial life to a motif adequate to the conception and developed compositionally."

What are the methods of figuration? *(1)* The structuring of space. *(2)* The rendering of forms within that space *effective*. The structuring of space has nothing to do with perspective: its tasks are to dislocate space so that it ceases to be static (the simplest example is that of the forward-coming relaxed leg in standing Greek figures) and to divide space into quanta so that we become conscious of its divisibility and thus cease to be the creatures of *its* continuity (e.g., the receding planes parallel to the picture surface in late Cézannes).

"To create pictorial space is to penetrate not only into the depths of the picture but also into the depths of our intellectual system of coordinates (which matches that of the world). Depth of space is depth of essence or else it is nothing but appearance and illusion."

The distinction between actual form and effective form is as follows:

"Actual form is descriptive; effective form is suggestive, i.e., through it the artist, instead of trying to convey the contents and feelings to the viewer by fully describing them, provides him only with as many clues as he needs to produce these contents and feelings within himself. To achieve this the artist must act not upon individual sense organs but upon the whole man, i.e., he must make the viewer live in the work's own mode of reality."

What does figuration with its special material (see above) achieve?

"Intensity of figuration is not display of the artist's strength; not vitality, which animates the outer world with the personal energies of the creative artist; not logical or emotional consistency, with which a limited problem is thought through or felt through to its ultimate consequences. What it does denote is the degree to which the very essence of art has been realized: the undoing of the world of things, the construction of the world of values, and hence the constitution of a new world. The originality of this constitution provides us with a general criterion by which we can measure intensity of figuration. Originality of constitution is not the urge to be different from others, to produce something entirely new; it is (in the etymological sense) the grasping of the origin, the roots of both ourselves and things."

One must distinguish here between Raphael's "world of values" and the idealist view of art as a depository of

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transcendental values. For Raphael the values lie *in the activity* revealed by the work. The function of the work of art is to lead us from the work to the process of creation which it contains. This process is determined by the material of figuration and it is within this material, which Raphael discloses and analyzes with genius, that mathematics may one day be able to discover precise principles. The process is directed toward creating within the work a synthesis of the subjective and objective, of the conditional and the absolute within a totality governed by its own laws of necessity. Thus the world of things is replaced within the work by a hierarchy of values created by the process it contains.

I can give no indication here of the detailed, specific and unabstract way in which Raphael applies his understanding to the five works he studies. I can only state that his eye and sensuous awareness were as developed as his mind. Reading him one has the impression, however difficult the thought, of a man of unusual and stable balance:

> Since we cannot know ourselves directly, but only through our actions, it remains more than doubtful whether our idea of ourselves accords with our real motives. But we must strive unremittingly to achieve this congruence. For only self-knowledge can lead to self-determination, and false self-determination would ruin our lives and be the most immoral action we could commit.

To return now to our original question: what is the revolutionary meaning of art? Raphael shows that the revolutionary meaning of a work of art has nothing to do with its subject matter in itself, or with the functional use to which the work is put, but is a meaning continually awaiting discovery and release.

"However strong a given historical tendency may be, man can and has the duty to resist it when it runs counter to his creative powers. There is no fate which decrees that we must be victims of technology or that art must be shelved as an anachronism: the 'fate' is merely misuse of technology by the ruling class to suppress the people's power to make its own history. To a certain extent it is up to every individual, by his participation in social and political life, to decide whether art shall or shall not become obsolete. The understanding of art helps raise this decision to its highest level. As a vessel formed by the creative forces which it preserves, the work of art keeps alive and enhances every urge to come to terms with the world."

"We have said that art leads us from the work to the process of creation. This reversion, outside the theory of art, will eventually generate universal doubt about the world as given, the natural as well as the social. Instead of accepting things as they are, of taking them for granted, we learn, thanks to art, to measure them by the standard of perfection. The greater the unavoidable gulf between the ideal and the real, the more inescapable is the question: Why is the existing world the way it is? How has the world come to be what it is? *De omnibus rebus dubitandum est! Quid certum?* We must doubt all things! What is certain? (Descartes). It is the nature of the creative mind to dissolve seemingly solid things and to transform the world as it is into a world in process of becoming and creating. This is how we are liberated from the multiplicity of things and come to realize what it is that all conditional things ultimately possess in common. Thus, instead of being creatures isolated among other isolated creatures we become part of the power that creates all things."

Raphael did not, could not, make our choices for us. Everyone must resolve for himself the conflicting demands of his historical situation. But Raphael does show, as no other writer has ever done, the revolutionary meaning of the works inherited from the past—and of the works that will be eventually created in the future. And this he shows without rhetoric, without exhortation, modestly and with reason. His was the greatest mind yet applied to the subject.

ART BOOKS / Lawrence Alloway

The sumptuary law which used to divide luxurious picture books from seriously argued texts is breaking, or has broken, down. Though André Malraux's *Les Voix du Silence* (1951) combined original text and glamorous photographs, visual and verbal elements have come apart since then. For close to twenty years picture books have exploited ever familiar subjects and the publishers have cannibalized one another's successes. Docile writers have obliged with suitably unauthoritative texts. There are signs now that the banal subjects have been used up (or, at least, that fresh areas are scheduled for future banalization).

A problem: once you have enough Van Gogh and Picasso picture books, once you have *Masterpieces of Primitive Art* and *Treasures from the Jeu de Paume,* what next? The answer is pretty clearly visible this year in terms of a more specialized subdivision of the history of art and a wider selection of artists as the subjects of monographs. Previously, such work was confined to modest formats. Now, however, instead of *The Impressionists and Their World,* say, there is *Piero della Francesca and the* EARLY *Renaissance* (my emphasis); instead of another book on Renoir, there is the first full-length study of the little-known but important Russian constructivist, El Lissitzky. This is not to say that publishers are now displaying a sustained scholarly zeal. At a time when there is no book on Mark Rothko or Barnett Newman, on Adolph Gottlieb or Robert Motherwell, it is pointless to bring out a big book with a trivial text on Arshile Gorky who is already satisfactorily covered by Ethel Schwabacher (1951) and William Seitz (1962). Also there are still publishers who try not to state too clearly when a book is a reprint (for example, Pevsner's *Sources of Modern Architecture and Design*) or a translation (such as Oertel's *Early Italian Painting,* a fact conceded only on the jacket).

What is happening is that more precise systems of calibration are being applied to art, even in the books that used to be intended for the coffee tables of nonspecialists. The Renaissance, for instance, is not only separated now into Early and Late phases but into Northern and Southern. *Early* Christian art and *late* Byzantine painting are the subjects of serious scholarship and good reproductions.

The supposed antagonism of art history (as a tool of dead knowledge) and the instinctive enjoyment of art (as something creative) is not supported by the good new books. It is pleasant to record the absence of conflict between accuracy and illumination. An art historian who figures out an artist's chronology for the first time, or who defines a group of works of art in a fresh relationship, is animating the body of art more than a fulsome docent or a rapt art critic. Acts of classification and contextualizing clarify the highly esteemed creative process; they do not destroy it. The approach of the nonspecialized book toward more precise classification could well redeem the colorful dross, the bright beads for the natives, of Christmas past.

THE POET ASSASSINATED. *By Guillaume Apollinaire. Translated by Ron Padgett. Illustrated by Jim Dine. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 128 pp. $9.95.*

Dine's illustrations are a witty remake of the novel in terms of post-Pop Art realism. Not only an entertaining gloss on Apollinaire but a key to Dine's future imagery.

ART NEWS ANNUAL. *Edited by John Ashbery and Thomas B. Hess. Newsweek. Color and black-and-white illustrations. 150 pp. $6.95.*

The subject this year is "The Avant-Garde"; good essays by Linda Nochlin,

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Meyer Schapiro and Libby Tannenbaum.

GREAT DRAWINGS OF THE LOUVRE MUSEUM. *3 Vols.* "The Italian Drawings." *By Roseline Bacou.* "The French Drawings." *By Maurice Sérullaz.* "The German, Flemish and Dutch Drawings." *By Roseline Bacou. George Braziller. Copious color illustrations. 672 pp. Pre-Christmas $45; thereafter $60.*

Brief preliminary essays on the collection, followed by detailed notes on the provenance and significance of the drawings, which are reproduced with an accuracy that simulates even vaguenesses in the originals.

THE HISTORY OF WORLD SCULPTURE. *By Germain Bazin. New York Graphic Society. 1,000 color illustrations. 460 pp. Pre-Christmas $29.95; thereafter $35.*

A group of summarizing essays prepares for a long all-color section with detailed captions. If there must be all-in-one books, this duplex approach (cultural generalizations and the specific description of objects) is workable.

TAHITIAN JOURNAL. *By George Biddle. University of Minnesota Press. Black-and-white illustrations. 208 pp. $8.95.*

Biddle, better known as a Federal Arts Project organizer, is seen here in Gauguinesque poses in a 1917-22 diary. Interesting.

AUGURIES OF INNOCENCE. *By William Blake. Illustrated by Leonard Baskin. Grossman. (Unpaginated.) $5.*

Blake's "World in a Grain of Sand" poem crudely interrupted by Baskin's gross, and non-Blakean, graphics.

HOGARTH: THE COMPLETE ENGRAVINGS. *By Joseph Burke and Colin Caldwell. Harry N. Abrams. 267 black-and-white illustrations. 312 pp. $18.50.*

Admirable volume to go with Burke's own edition of Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*. Beckett's catalogue of the paintings and Oppé's of the drawings.

BEYOND MODERN SCULPTURE. *By Jack Burnham. Braziller. Black-and-white illustrations. 402 pp. $15.*

Despite a meretricious title, this book is an exceptional, serious attempt to relate art to science without loss of art's evasive identity or science's methodological sophistication. Recommended.

ADVERTISING: Its Cultural and Political Effects. *By Giancarlo Buzzi. Translated by B. David Garmize. University of Minnesota Press. 148 pp. $5.50.*

A welcome step toward the introduction of data and nuances into a topic that calls forth the dullest PTA clichés.

ART IN THE AGE OF RISK. *By Nicolas Calas. Introduction by Gregory Battcock. E. P. Dutton. 238 pp. $5.*

Brilliant essays by independent critic; keyed to the current scene, but deeply connected to the recurring issues of culture and its crises. Recommended.

REMBRANDT AND THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. *By Kenneth Clark. W. W. Norton. 181 black-and-white illustrations. 226 pp. $1.95 paper.*

Reprint of an excellent 1966 study.

WAYNE THIEBAUD. *By John Coplans. Pasadena Art Museum. Exhibition catalogue. 12 color, and black-and-white illustrations. 66 pp.*

Notes on the artist's development and a useful interview.

NORTHERN PAINTING: From Pucelle to Brueghel. *By Charles D. Cuttler. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 32 color, 682 black-and-white illustrations. 500 pp. $17.95.*

An admirable survey with intricate detail cogently bound to a firm historical framework.

TURNER'S SKETCHES AND DRAWINGS. *By A. J. Finberg. Introduction by Lawrence Gowing. Schocken Books. 100 black-and-white illustrations. 164 pp. $2.95 paper.*

Reprint of the 1910 study, set in a context of the art criticism of the period by Gowing's interesting new introduction.

POP ART: Object and Image. *By Christopher Finch. E. P. Dutton. Black-and-white illustrations. 168 pp. $2.45 paper.*

The title is a bit grand; the essays are really about aspects of British Pop Art (including Jim Dine in London) and, as such, are interesting.

JOSEF ALBERS. *By Eugen Gomringer and others. George Wittenborn. Color and black-and-white illustrations. 200 pp. $25.50.*

A text as neat and clear as Swiss typography by concrete poet Gomringer. Fine color reproductions.

THE CLIMAX OF ROME. *By Michael Grant. Little, Brown & Co. 100 black-and-white illustrations. 300 pp. $8.95.*

Incisive survey of second to fourth century A.D., with art located in its cultural setting.

EUROPEAN FOLK ART. *Edited by H. J. Hansen. Introduction by Robert Wildhaber. McGraw-Hill. 492 black-and-white illustrations. 288 pp. Pre-Christmas $22.50; thereafter $25.*

Panoramic and scholarly survey of an understudied field. Sober and unsentimental. Recommended.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE AND ITS TREASURES. *By John Harris, Geoffrey de Belliague and Oliver Millar. Introduction by John Russell. Viking Press. 79 color, 218 black-and-white illustrations. 320 pp. $25.*

The least known of the British Royal houses documented both by lavish illustration and heavily footnoted scholarship. A treat.

DAWN OF THE GODS. *By Jacquetta Hawkes. Random House. 45 color, and black-and-white illustrations. 304 pp. $17.95.*

As popular books increase, every period receives attention. This one is on Minoan and Mycenaean art and culture, evoked a bit fancifully.

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA AND THE EARLY RENAISSANCE. *By Philip Hendy. Macmillan. 34 color, 67 black-and-white illustrations. 248 pp. $12.50.*

Agreeably dignified and pro-Mediterranean account of Piero's art and cultural context.

THE MACHINE AS SEEN AT THE END OF THE MECHANICAL AGE. *By K. G. Pontus Hultén. Museum of Modern Art. (Exhibition catalogue.) Distributed by the New York Graphic Society. 200 black-and-white illustrations. 216 pp. $6.95.*

Museum catalogues are often among the best art publications. Here is an excellent set of witty and discursive reflections on the relations of art and technology.

THE POSTER: An Illustrated History from 1860. *By Harold F. Hutchison. Viking Press. 218 illustrations in color and black and white. 216 pp. $14.*

Useful survey, but the author's "good taste" makes his selection of later posters too dainty.

NUMBERS. *By Robert Indiana and Robert Creeley. Edition Domberger Stuttgart. Gotham Book Mart, New York. 10 color serigraphs. (Unpaginated.) $20.*

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Emblems by Indiana, poems (in English and German) by Creeley; an elegant collaboration.

THE IMPERIAL HOTEL. *By Cary James. Charles E. Tuttle. Floor plans and elevations. 63 black-and-white illustrations. 48 pp. (text). $7.50.*

Extraordinary details of Frank Lloyd Wright's hotel in Tokyo, recently demolished.

DEGAS MONOTYPES. *By Eugenia Parry Janis. Fogg Museum. Distributed by the New York Graphic Society. 79 full-page, 321 catalogue illustrations in black and white. (Unpaginated.) $17.50.*

Fascinating account of a neglected aspect of Degas' art.

FROM THE BEGINNING. *By Karl Katz, P. P. Kahane, Magen Broshi. Introduction by Philip Hendy. Reynal & Co. 64 color and 150 black-and-white illustrations. 288 pp. Pre-Christmas $12.95; thereafter $15.*

Using archaeological objects and art in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, the writers sketch a history of Jewish culture.

VOYAGING. *By Rockwell Kent. Grosset & Dunlap. Numerous black-and-white illustrations. 184 pp. $5.95.*

First published in 1924, this travel story is ornamented by woodcuts that are an open-air version of *Art Déco*; a streamlined primitivism.

THE NEW SCULPTURE. *By Udo Kulterman. Frederick A. Praeger. 12 color, 375 black-and-white illustrations. 236 pp. $20.*

Well informed and thorough survey of *avant-garde* sculpture movements.

ARSHILE GORKY. *By Julian Levy. Harry N. Abrams. 36 color, 172 black-and-white illustrations. 38 pp. (text). $25.*

Excellent reproductions of paintings in color and related drawings; a flimsy text.

EL LISSITZKY. *By Sophie Lissitzky-Kuppers. Introduction by Herbert Read. New York Graphic Society. 100 color, 178 black-and-white illustrations. 408 pp. $30.*

Indispensable study of an artist more or less missing from 20th-century art history. Recommended.

FUTURIST ART AND THEORY 1909-1915. *By Marianne W. Martin. Oxford University Press (Clarendon). 219 black-and-white illustrations. 228 pp. $17.75.*

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Successful conversion of a doctoral dissertation into a useful book, with information not in English before.

ROBERT INDIANA. *By John W. McCoubrey. Institute of Contemporary Art of the University of Philadelphia. 4 color, and black-and-white illustrations. 64 pp.*

Statements by the artist and much documentary material.

TO PAINT IS TO LOVE AGAIN. *By Henry Miller. (With* "Semblance of a Devoted Past," *1944.) Grossman. 20 color illustrations. 120 pp. $10.*

Breezy commentary by Miller on his Love of Art. His art is sub-Chagall, post-Jawlensky, and dampened Klee.

INFORMATION THEORY AND AESTHETIC PERCEPTION. *By Abraham Moles. Translated by Joel E. Cohen. University of Illinois Press. 222 pp. $2.45 paper.*

Originally published in 1958, this application of "Information Theory" to esthetics is still apposite; a brilliant book. Recommended.

EARLY ITALIAN PAINTING TO 1400. *By Robert Oertel. Frederick A. Praeger. 12 color, 128 black-and-white illustrations. 376 pp. $18.50.*

Fundamental book on painting before and after Giotto. An eloquent and detailed study.

IDEA. *By Irwin Panovsky. Translated by Joseph J. C. Peake. University of South Carolina Press. 268 pp. $7.50.*

First English translation of immensely influential history-of-an-idea book, published in 1924. A model of economical writing and capacious references.

THE SOURCES OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN. *By Nikolaus Pevsner. Frederick A. Praeger. 15 color, 198 black-and-white illustrations. 216 pp. $7.50.*

A reprint from the commemorative volume of the Council of Europe's sources of the 20th-century exhibition. Familiar but cogent survey of late 19th, early 20th-century "pioneers."

SCIENCE, ART AND COMMUNICATION. *By John R. Pierce. Clarkson N. Potter. 174 pp. $6.*

Short, readable essays which, despite the author's occasional hard-nosed technologist's *élan*, will admirably introduce gallery-bound readers to the sciences impinging on art.

BYZANTINE PAINTING: The Last Phase. *By Talbot Rice. Dial Press. Color and black-and-white illustrations. 224 pp. Pre-Christmas $17.50; thereafter $22.50.*

Engrossing study of a specialized subject that will reward the attention of the general reader.

POSTERS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. *By Maurice Rickards. Walker and Co. 243 illustrations in color and black and white. 32 pp. (text). $12.50.*

Fascinating iconographical study from both sides, including an elegiac commemoration of the *Lusitania* and a German boast: "Through Our Army—the Freedom of the Seas."

GIOVANNI BELLINI. *By Giles Robertson. Oxford University Press (Clarendon). 120 black-and-white illustrations. 172 pp. $16.*

A penetrating study of Bellini, with the details of art history building up a coherent image of the artist.

CUBISM AND 20TH CENTURY ART. *By Robert Rosenblum. Harry N. Abrams. 40 color, 248 black-and-white illustrations. 332 pp. $9.95 paper.*

A reprint of a handy guide to cubism.

246 LITTLE CLOUDS. *By Diter Rot. Introduction by Emmett Williams. Something Else Press. (Unpaginated.) $5.95.*

Notes and queries, speculations and signs, in an original word-and-picture book by a key European *avant-gardist*. Fancy production. Recommended.

DADA, SURREALISM AND THEIR HERITAGE. *By William S. Rubin. Museum of Modern Art. Exhibition catalogue. Distributed by the New York Graphic Society. 6 color, 294 black-and-white illustrations. 252 pp. $9.95.*

Clear and resourceful study of Dada and Surrealism, welcome in a clouded area of study; the "heritage," however, in the United States chiefly, is less convincing.

DAVID SMITH ON DAVID SMITH. *Edited by Cleve Gray. Holt, Rinehart, & Winston. Color and black-and-white illustrations. 176 pp. $22.95.*

Absorbing collection of texts and notes by the artist, with his own photographs of his sculpture. Exceptionally well edited. Recommended.

RUBENS AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION. *By Wolfgang Stechow. (Martin Classical Lectures, XXII.) Harvard University Press. 68 black-and-white illustrations. 136 pp. $6.*

The persistence of the art of antiquity in the Baroque, a fashionable theme of recent art history, is powerfully demonstrated here. The baroque/classical antithesis is crumbling before holistic studies.

JEAN ARP: Sculpture—His Last Ten Years. *By Eduard Trier. Harry N. Abrams. 105 full-page black-and-white illustrations and 156 catalogue illustrations. 168 pp. $20.*

Continuation of the catalogue *raisonné* and updating of the bibliography published in 1957.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART. *By F. van der Meer. Translated by Peter and Friedl Brown. University of Chicago Press. 48 black-and-white illustrations. 150 pp. $8.50.*

Excellent account and interpretation of a diffuse and unfamiliar area.

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY, MEXICO. *By Pedro Ramirez Vazquez, and others. Introduction by Ignacio Bernal. Harry N. Abrams. 54 color, 231 black-and-white illustrations. 258 pp. $25.*

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This handsome book doubles as a guide to the museum, opened in 1964, and as an introduction to Mexican art, anthropology and ethnology.

STYLE AND DESIGN, 1909-1929. *By Giulia Veronesi. George Braziller. 10 color, 248 black-and-white illustrations. 372 pp. $15.*

Excellent close study of the form sense underlying the art, decoration and entertainment of the recent past. Acute and anti-camp.

A. *By Andy Warhol. Grove Press. 452 pp. $10.*

Transcribed tapes of Andy's clan. More of the nitty-gritty Warhol continuum. Question: who figured out the style of transcription? No credit given.

EARLY FLEMISH PAINTING. *By Margaret Whinney. Frederick A. Praeger. 3 color, 96 black-and-white illustrations. 168 pp. $12.50.*

Compact survey of 15th and early 16th century Flemish art; sober, but old-fashioned in its plodding and respectful expressions of appreciation.

(Further listings next issue.)

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

A swarm of small plays by young writers, most of whom have previously been produced Off-Broadway, buzzed into town during the latter half of November. There are to be many more—these plays now proliferate more rapidly than any other kind—and their influence will soon be visible on the "main stem" itself.

Of the recent ones, Terrence McNally's duo, *Sweet Eros* and *Witness* are to be seen at the Gramercy Arts Theatre, 138 East 27 Street; Anne Burr's *Huui, Huui* is at Joseph Papp's Public Theatre on Lafayette Street, and the triple bill, *Morning* by Israel Horovitz, *Noon* by Terrence McNally, and *Night* by Leonard Melfi, are at the Henry Miller.

McNally's *Sweet Eros* is an idyll of perpetual cohabitation. Its point is that while love matches rarely lead to anything more than eventual frustration, sexual intercourse between a physically compatible couple without metaphysical solemnities or avowals of adoration is likely to prove more satisfactory as it is more honest. People, McNally implies, don't desire or like love: it is too burdensome. It is not entirely clear whether this is the author's diagnosis of the contemporary situation or his "platform."

What is clear is the plot. A Young Man, bruised by previous amatory encounters, forces a girl to come back with him to his country retreat. He trusses her up, describing his earlier misadventures with women as the cause of his present action, feeds her, photographs her, verbally abuses her a little so that no suspicion of romantic endearment may enter what follows, undresses her and, when she has overcome her fear of possible injury, takes her to bed. She seems never to need to clothe herself again and appears altogether gratified by the arrangement. Since he has enough money to carry it on indefinitely, the "experiment" is a success.

The writing of the play is literate enough. As to its thought and feeling you may judge for yourself if you can determine exactly what they are; as I have suggested there is a certain ambiguity. The kick in this sketch is the total nudity of the couple, as well as the direct image and sounds of the act of love. The set by Peter Harvey and the lighting by Roger Morgan are fine. Robert Drivas and Sally Kirkland both carry off their assignments handsomely. The effect of the whole is not, unless you are neurotically inflammable, erotic. I laughed when the Young Man, to avoid ecstatic exclamation of pleasure or declarations of deep commitment, talked "politics" as he made love.

Though somewhat overextended, McNally's second play, *Witness*, struck me as having greater dramatic validity. A Man—we are given little information about him—prepares to assassinate the President. He gags and ties a hapless encyclopedia salesman to a chair to witness the action. A window cleaner who is also invited in represents the disaffected and totally muddled worker who has come to hate everything: the war, blacks, rebellious youth, the government and most of his fellow citizens. He talks of what he would do if he had a chance to shoot the President. There is also a girl radio interviewer who gushes over the prospective Presidential parade. When the President's car passes, the assassin's plan is frustrated because the President is murdered by concerted gunfire from other sources. Everyone is horrified and the man who vowed to kill the President crumples in grief and waves a little American flag as a sign of contrition or as a conditioned reflex of patriotism. Here again there is a certain satirical ambivalence.

There is some good acting in this "allegory" by James Coco as the window cleaner and by Richard Marr as the Man.

Huui, Huui is a first play by a young woman married to a university professor in the Midwest. She shows promise. Though her play is slight, there is health in it: it justifies its inclusion in Papp's program.

The form is a sort of portrait in collage of a thoroughly disengaged youth, Feisel, who is trying to write poetry in a bare loft without electric light. He fears the eye of the sun; he listens to records of long-hair music in the almost nonexsistent toilet; he makes love desultorily to a little innocent whom he picks up and to his neighbor's cool girl friend. He is inwardly too turbulent to enjoy an improvised house party with the vicinity's youngsters. He emits little inexplicable sounds like "huui, huui." His trouble initially was caused by his long separation from his father who comes at last to visit him. Due to a bad heart the father doesn't eat the little delicatessen meal his son had prepared for him. In desperation the boy jumps from the window but lands on a pile of refuse—from which the landlady thinks she hears him laughing.

All this is told—and played—with nice touches of wry humor and unstrained sensibility. The boy is seen sympathetically but without pathos. In fact, only when his odd behavior is explained in the scene with the father—in itself laconically written—does the play seem a bit conventional. The modest portrait is sufficient: Feisel is both particular and representative.

The play is well directed by Joseph Papp, well handled scenically by Douglas Schmidt, in lighting by Martin Aronstein, and admirably performed by Barry Primus as Feisel, by Margaret Linn as the sweet girl, by Sharon Laughlin (with voice of ingratiating timbre) as the attractive free-for-all girl next door, by Charles Durning as Feisel's Daddy and by Eda Reiss Merin as the funny milk and acid landlady.

A cast of five—Sorrell Booke, Robert Klein, John Heffernan, Charlotte Rae, Jane Marla Robbins, all good—play the three one acters *Morning, Noon and Night*. The first by Israel Horovitz (whose *The Indian Wants the Bronx* I liked) is an extravagant piece about blacks who swallow some "magic pills" and lose their pigment, with presumably hilarious consequences when a "cracker" comes to kill the black father whose son has knocked up his teen-age daughter, and finds that the family he threatens is white. In the end we learn that the white avenger has also taken the pill and is really a black.

Laughter is provoked by the explosive use of (by now) customary four-letter words. I doubt that a black audience would appreciate the play's fun or approve its liberalism. For my part, I am bone tired of this sort of jape in regard to racism. And I am inclined to feel that with very few exceptions I pre-

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fer to see American plays on the subject by blacks only.

McNally's *Noon* is a sick joke in which a tease advertiser invites a group of assorted individuals to indulge in some special sex shenanigans and perhaps a tutti-frutti orgy. A queer, a timid young man, an unappeased housewife whose husband talks and reads more than he does, a flagellant married couple turn up.

It is entirely possible that this play was written with scalding aversion for its characters and situation, and was then transformed into all-out farce by the director, Theodore Mann. In any case, the results for me are some scattered trivial chortles, funny only to the degree that any surprise allusion to sex is risible (the dirty end of the Puritan stick).

I believe Melfi's *Night* is about death and the emptiness of our "official" attitude toward it, or perhaps it is about the equivalence of our mourning whether a burial be that of a man or a dog. If I am not correct in these surmises—the play is "symbolic"—I don't think it matters.

To those who welcome these plays—a few cried "Bravo!" on opening night—I must point out that at best they are *notions*: symptomatic perhaps but inherently of little artistic value. To applaud all manifestations of the tendency they represent betrays a juvenile fear of not being "with it," a callow snobbism. To encourage these playwrights indiscriminately is to do them a disservice.

They should learn that a gimmick is not sufficient for a satisfying theatre event. A short play must have the same substantive quality as one of full length. They write too "soon" and too hastily; they should discipline themselves in self-criticism. They must think and work after their first inspired impulse. They should understand that every shudder of fury, horror, derision or violent dissent must be as carefully calculated and articulated as the most ambitious drama.

A word should be added about the desire to be open, bold, utterly permissive about sexual matters on the stage. The plays of some of those one reviewer ingenuously referred to as our "modernists" are rarely "warm." The obsession with sex today is not like that of the twenties. That was a rebellion against Calvinist repressiveness. Today we reach out lyrically, hysterically, or callously toward some concrete reality. Belief in the older ideas has for the most part proved hypocritical deception. For this reason we grab at what still remains specifically tangible and stirring: sexual connection. It seems to be all that's left.

There is no villain in this situation, and some good has come of it. In several instances, I suspect a certain guilt feeling, a self-punitive strain projected as social castigation in the outrage expressed by our dramatic wild men. But there is another aspect to this trend. We find a statement in two or three of Tennessee Williams' plays which in turn appear to echo D.H. Lawrence's pan-sexuality. This makes passionate sexual experience a total value beyond every other consideration. It represented Lawrence's effort to rid himself and his generation of the prudery, aridity and denial of the instinctual life from which he himself had suffered. It led to wrongheadedness and distortion in several other phases of his thinking. Taken literally, the Lawrence "doctrine" is false. Except in bad art, as in bad biology, sex is not a separate "department" of existence. Isolated from the broad context of life it ends in being ludicrous, unpleasant and destructive.

If what I have suggested is also what our new dramatists have in mind, they must learn to say so with lucid cogency, hold court on themselves, deliberate their way to become artists rather than just clever foundation fellows.

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Beneath the mad, mod acrylic of Michael Sarne's *Joanna* there beats the heart of Little Nell. The film offers the proposition—sustained by nobody's observation of life—that a girl (Genevieve Waite) who is amoral to the point of catalepsy can be brought to the grace of responsive and responsible maturity by a series of jarring blows induced by her compulsive self-indulgence. It also presents Donald Sutherland in the role of a stammering lord of great wealth, who knows himself to be dying and who is dedicating his final months to having a grand time and playing fairy godfather to all comers. His philosophic rhapsody on the occasion of a North African sunset is a tearful tour de force of the sort I thought had gone out of fashion with lace-edged cambric.

However, it is somewhat beside the point to snarl at *Joanna* on these grounds, because it is a picture less about people and their ways than about film and its possibilities. When you take a walk, it is pleasant to have a destination; and when you put a camera through its paces, it is convenient to have a story line and some actors for it to focus upon. Thus scenes in this film do not develop and characters do not relate through any inherent logic or volition; they are established and joined by the style of the photography. And since this is elliptical, chromatically strident and episodically syncopated, the effect is stimulating and optimistically high-spirited—though if one took some of the incidents at their human, rather than their cinematic, value, they would be appalling, and the overall moralizing, if one believed in its sincerity, would be intolerably shallow.

Furthermore, this ingratiating style, which tries so hard to be infectious, rather quickly reveals itself as a kind of salesmanship. It is close kin to the fashion layouts of the opulent magazines and the Sunday supplements, with high-style manikins striking extravagant gestures devoid of plausible motivation and displaying costumes that do more to advance the notoriety of their creators than to flatter the bodies of their wearers. So modish is *Joanna* that it includes a Negro couple in this assemblage.

Indeed, the handling of these two—Calvin Lockhart and Glenna Forster-Jones—is the most interesting aspect of the picture. They are admitted on terms of absolute equality—the picture is color-blind; it exploits the picturesque possibilities of one and all with an equal hand. This means that Lockhart and Miss Forster-Jones can be brought on as a pair of jungle cats without anyone crying prejudice—the whites are similarly stereotyped for maximum visibility. At the same time, the blacks are not made into recruits to middle-class conformity, which seems the depressing best that the screen has been able to do thus far for race relations. *Joanna* is a conspicuously erotic movie, but it is eroticism with the blank face of a brassiere-counter display. At that depersonalized level, interracial sexuality flows across the screen without triggering any atavistic twitches. It is a cop-out, no doubt, but it is also a kind of progress. The mass media never break taboos, they always sidle past.

I would not advise Milwaukee to export beer to Czechoslovakia and I doubt that Prague is wise to send musical comedy to us. *Lady on the Tracks*, which might also be called a people's operetta, is a sad attempt at lyric revels in the absence of talent. No one implicated in the picture can write a song or sing one, there is no dancing, the costumes are bargain basement, and the satire is leaden. The book is an attack on the double standard, presented with indignant lack of humor. However, I was interested to discover that Socialist society is still so much exercised by a state of sexual affairs that has become a quaint memory in the West. It fits in with the celebrated Marxist prudery.

If there is a disposition in this country to shift public interest away from a preoccupation with violence, it has not yet reached American International Pictures. Three press releases recently received in one envelope from that firm carry headlines as follows: "They'll *Do* Anything . . . or *Dare* Anything!!! They

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Run in Packs" (*Born Wild*); "The Massacre Men . . . They Carry Their Hate in their Holsters and a Name on Every Bullet in Their Belts!!! (*The Brute and the Beast*); "They Mixed Their Kisses with Cold-Blooded Murder!!! Before the Picnic Was Over, 37 People Were Dead!!" (*Killers Three*).

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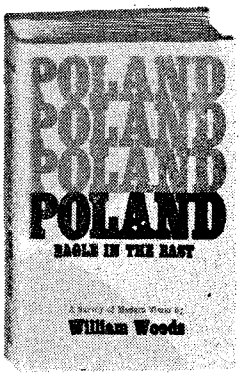
Eagle in the East



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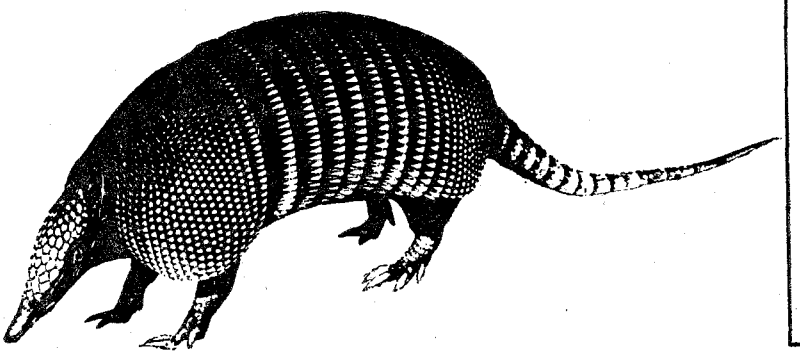

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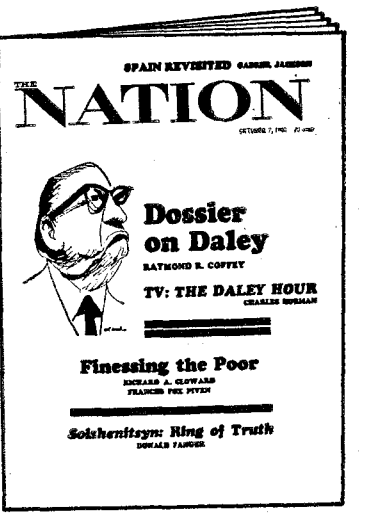

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Mary had a baby;
good news!
Red as a ruby,
but no layette, no shoes.

Who's to be godfather?
Joseph, maybe,
Solemn, he nods
his step-paternity

over the rude crib.
How refuse?
Mary had a baby:
Sing Whose, Whose!

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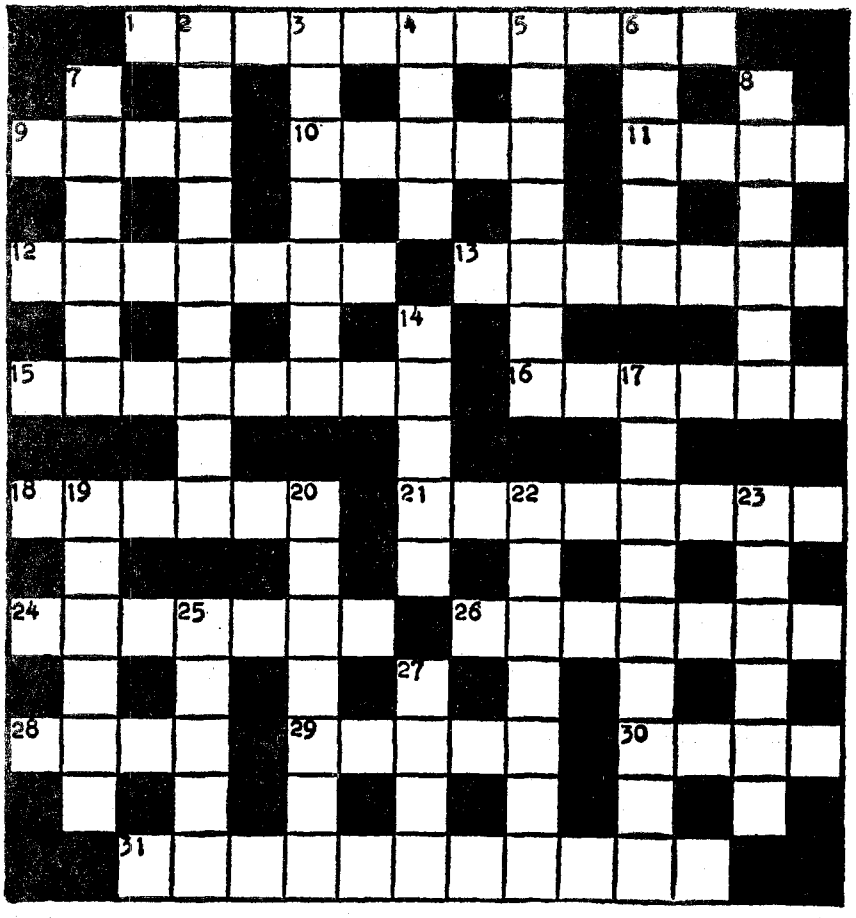

ACROSS

1 Study straight in hand, as a result. (11)
10 and 9 No long trial implied for the paper carrier. (5,4)
11 and 30 One is mad to be so overstocked with weapons. (2,2,4)
12 Give prominence to the nose, perhaps. (7)
13 You could have this debit be transferred, since it implies an out-go. (3,4)
15 The way to the sea in the country, perhaps. (8)
16 They might try to find one who makes his. (6)
18 Decorated as the worker might be. (6)
21 and 19 down It could lead to daybreak. (3,5,2,4)
24 Abuts. (7)
26 Summary sounds like a good equivalent! (7)
28 The sound of poetry? The sound of dew! (4)
29 See 25 down.
30 See 11 across
31 In favor of having a label on? It's peculiar, but then it's also just like a leading man! (11)

DOWN

2 Possibly shocking to the Victorian lady, unless made by such as Von Suppe. (9)
3 So move to the left, already! You're not so tipsy! (7)
4 and 23 One loses interest with them!
5 Having an utter possibility? (7)
6 See 25 down
7 It should command a prospect, and provide a way to look at the stock-loser's beginning. (6)
8 What the coward gets at the finish? (4-2)
14 A game alternative to 1 across. (5)
17 One or two from St. Louis, as well as nine? (9)
19 See 21 across
20 Filling his job? At least he lets you take the chair. (7)
22 In a way, the nearest oriental. (7)
23 See 4 down
25, 29 across and 6 down The royal line of succession? (In case one might call for it?) (5,2,3,5)
27 Certainly such a creature would never be a drag! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1275

ACROSS: 1 and 18 All for the better; 6 Lower; 9 Rotates; 10 Stealth; 11 War; 12 Lieges; 13 Hera; 16 Blasts; 23 Erne; 24 Wealth; 25 Gum; 28 Awakens; 29 Tourney; 30 Knell; 31 Westerner.
DOWN: 1 Arrow; 2 Literal; 3 Outclassed; 4 Tasteful; 5 Easter; 6 Lees; 7 Welters; 8 Rehearsal; 14 Blockhouse; 15 Table talk; 17 Afflatus; 19 Tonnage; 21 Organon; 22 Seesaw; 26 Mayor; 27, 15 across and 20 Tell tales out of school.

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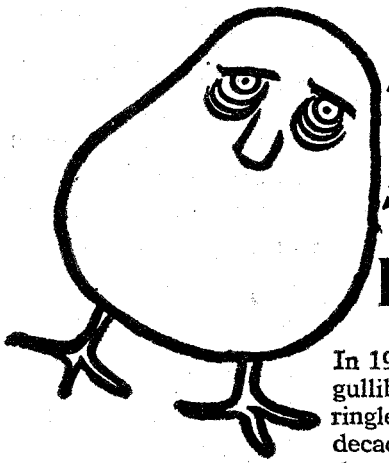

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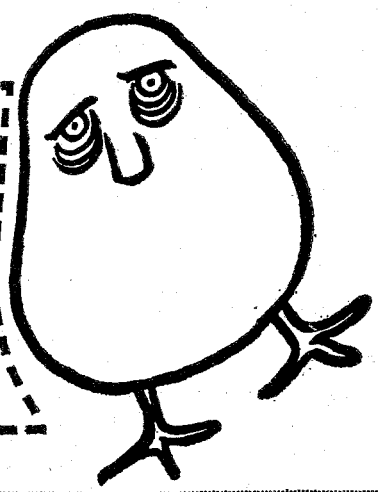

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